University Of Alberta

"By One Attached to ... But Not Of": Historical Photography Of The Eastern Arctic by Luta Munday and Geraldine Moodie

by

Sherry Elizabeth Newman ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "By One Attached To ... But Not Of": Historical Photography of the Eastern Arctic by Luta Munday and Geraldine Moodie submitted by Sherry Elizabeth Newman in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History of Art and Design.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how the photography of Luta Munday and Geraldine Moodie produced the North visually for Southern audiences early this century. As women married to police officers posted in the Eastern Arctic between 1904 and 1924, both worked around an emerging institutional infrastructure that was responsible for the majority of visual representations. In carving out a niche for their own work, Munday and Moodie followed different traditions. Munday, an amateur, included photographic self-portraits in a personal memoir and Moodie, an established professional, continued her practice of portraiture of the local Inuit. Although their work has, at different times, enjoyed substantial circulation in the South, it has received little critical attention. This research attempts to include Munday's and Moodie's photography in the body of Northern representations and so increase our understanding of the North.

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Introduction: Selective Views of the Canadian North

Although central to the Canadian cultural consciousness, the image of 'the North' has been variable.[1] Defined by distances, real and perceived, from southern urban centres, it is a region whose image has been formed and circulated largely through visual and literary representations. Those in search of the histories and historical images of Northern Canada have been presented with a select few viewpoints of traders, missionaries, scientists, civil servants and police, the legacy of a small base of authors/photographers and of the institutional matrix which placed southerners in the North.

Recent efforts to include other, marginalized viewpoints in the histories of the Canadian North have served to include individuals of different backgrounds.[2] A

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[1] 'The North', as it figures in this study, is not limited to a precise geographical space but refers to the provincial Norths as well as the Northwest and Yukon Territories. L.E. Hamelin has pointed out the ambiguous relationship of Southern Canadians with the North which varies between fascination and ignorance. ("Images of the North," in *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings*, eds. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison [Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1989], 10-11).

[2] Initially called the Northwest Mounted Police (N.W.M.P.) when it was formed in 1873, the Force was given the designation 'Royal' in 1904 through a publication of the Coronation Honours List. In 1920, when the Mundays went

positive result of this inclusivity has been the retrieval of bodies of work produced by women such as Luta Munday and Geraldine Moodie, both photographers who followed R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. husbands to postings in the Eastern Arctic and produced images of the region between 1904 and 1924. Munday's contribution to the Northern legacy, a memoir entitled *A Mounty's Wife*, published in 1930, traces her personal experience of Northern detachment life in the early 1920's while Moodie's work consists primarily of studio portraiture of Eastern Arctic Inuit.

Although the work of such individuals potentially offers a representation of the North from a new perspective, a trend has emerged which threatens to incorporate historical imagery unproblematically into the pattern of the heroic North instead of disrupting that concept. What has been called "uncritical colonial nostalgia," when focused on women, can work to decontextualize and romanticize their experience of colonial situations.[3] For this reason such a framework is

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north, the name had been changed to Royal Canadian Mounted Police to reflect the expansion of jurisdiction to the whole nation. Archivia 2, [CD-Rom]. National Archives of Canada, Records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, RG 18

[3] Such publications as *Red Serge Wives* (1974; 1985) and Klondike Women (1989) are examples of the phenomenon.

unsuitable for the examination of work such as Munday's and Moodie's. What is needed here is a critical examination of their representations that includes rather than denies context.[4]

What makes the study of these practices so compelling, in addition to the quality and complexity of the work produced, is the rarity of EuroCanadian women's views of the North. That lack is attributable to a number of issues from the difficulty of physical access to social conventions and exclusive administrative policies. Though it has been argued that the Canadian effort to incorporate the North into its geographic and cultural boundaries was less than systematic, the mechanisms by which it did so were very much invested in the project of nation-building.[5] When, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

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[4] Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), ix; Janaki Nair, "Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in English Women's Writings 1813-1940," *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 1 (1990):8-34.

[5] Hugh Brody's observation that, "[Canada] was determined to include the vast Arctic hinterland, not only within its geographical frontiers, but within its moral and legal boundaries as well," is cited by Olive Dickason, in *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 369. Authors such as Diamond Jenness, L.E. Hamelin and Barbara Kelcey have argued that the history of Canadian presence in the North unfolded piecemeal, beginning with the British handover of the Arctic Archipelago to Canada in 1880.

Canada moved to stake permanent claims on the North, it established a number of institutional outposts representing southern interests, and in the process formed a culture/context which shaped visual and literary representations from this period. As I.S. MacLaren has observed:

> [A] consequence of the heavily institutionalized aspect of travel in [the North] on the literature and art produced about [it] is an aesthetic one. Most of the pertinent literature and art of exploration and travel reflects typical institutional interests in orderly identification, development, and exploitation of the wilderness.[6]

Implicit in the configuration of nineteenth- and twentieth-century institutions were issues of gender and ethnicity; aboriginal people and women were largely excluded from the processes by which representations were generated and disseminated. Because of their positions on the periphery of this infrastructure, Munday and Moodie produced images that differed from those of their male contemporaries in the Arctic; because of their geographical locations, they differed from those of other women in Southern Canada.

To treat Munday's and Moodie's photographic practices

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[6] I.S. MacLaren, "Commentary: The Aesthetics of Back's Writing and Painting from the Overland Expedition in *Arctic Artist*: The Journal and Painting of George Back, Midshipman with Franklin, 1819-1822. ed. C. Stuart Houston, (Montreal:

with adequate critical attention, they must be contextualized. While Munday's representation followed in the tradition of the illustrated memoir, with its implications of status and gender conventions, Moodie worked in and around the discourses of studio, ethnographic and travel photography. In examining their work, one must consider the effect of the institutional culture of the North, the bounds of professionalism, the significance of gender to their placement in the region, to their practices and to their choice of genre.

Munday's and Moodie's presence and affiliation with one of the main institutional bodies based in the North, the R.N.W.M.P., is far from coincidental; it was unusual for any individual at that time, but especially for women, to travel north without the sponsorship of an institutional body. Early this century the presence of the R.N.W.M.P. was a significant part of the growing infrastructure of government agencies in the North. Detachments were established at Fort McPherson and Herschel Island in the Western Arctic around the same time that Fullerton was positioned in the Eastern Arctic as part of the effort by the Federal government to establish Canadian law, and Canadian sovereignty, across the North

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McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 275.

(Figure 1).

As the region in general was increasingly viewed as the site for a 'natural' extension of Canadian culture, efforts were made by government to gather as much information as possible on its lands and peoples.[7] The potential for photographs to be used in empirical studies of water navigability, resources, land and ethnographic studies of Northern peoples helped establish the practice of photography as a key component of expeditions.

The development and proliferation of photography coincided in many ways with the growth of new institutionalized knowledges. From its inception in the mid-nineteenth century, photography was viewed as an instrument of science, a means of procuring a slice of frozen reality, as it were, and so of value in recording Northern subjects without the distortion of human interpretation. Recent scholarship has, however, dismantled the notion of photography's ability to objectively record 'reality', necessitating a more detailed analysis of the role of Northern photographic representation. The contingency of this notion of objectivity has been uncovered by scholars such as Abigail

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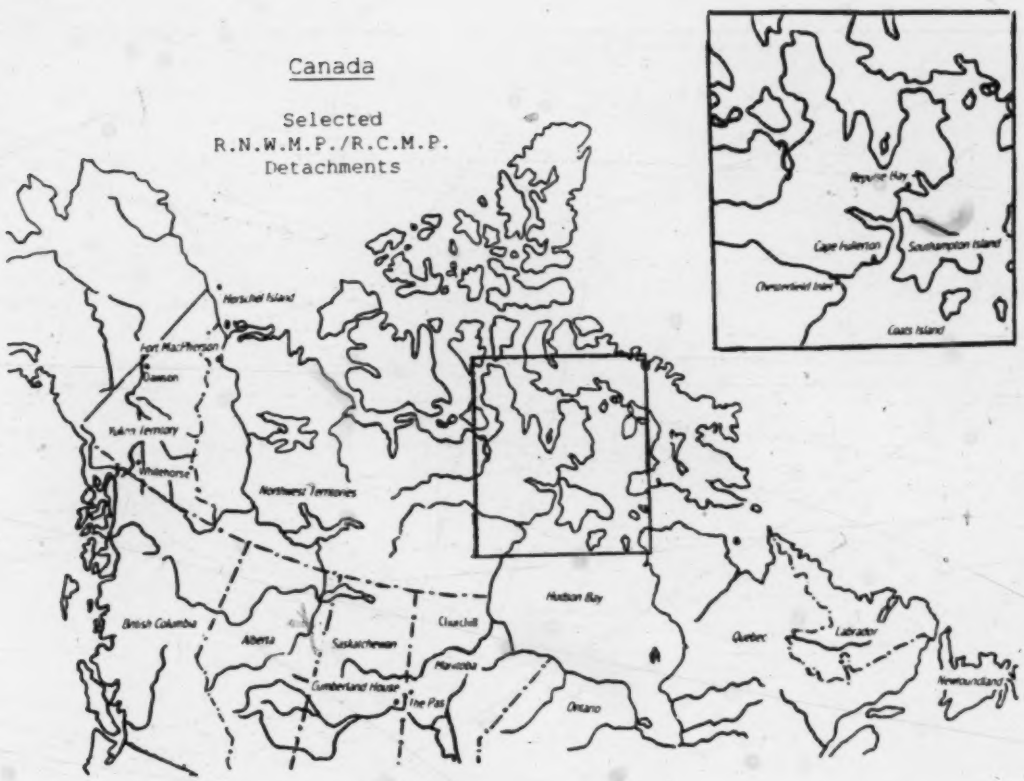
[7] R.H.C. Browne, *The Canadian Polar Expedition or Will Canada Claim Her Own*, (Ottawa: 1901), 5.



(Figure 1) Map of Canada showing selected R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. detachments active between 1904 and 1924

Solomon-Godeau who argues that this ability ascribed to photography is tied to the belief that the viewpoint of the photographer, the camera and the spectator overlap seamlessly, leaving no room for a mediating presence.[8] She is joined by theorists such as John Tagg, Martha Rosler and Rosalind Krauss in pointing out that the distance, both social and temporal, between each of these participants not only leaves ample room for mediation, but constitutes the legitimate area of study; in the words of Tagg, "What is real is not just the material [photograph] but also the discursive system of which the image it bears is part."[9]

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[8] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Who Is Speaking Thus?" in *The Event Horizon: Essays on Hope, Sexuality, Social Practice and Media(tion)*, eds. Lorne Falk and Barbara Fischer (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1987). Reprinted in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 180.

[9] These ideas are examined by John Tagg, "...technical, cultural and historical process in which particular optical and chemical devices are set to work to organise experience and desire and produce a new reality--the paper image which, through yet further processes, may become meaningful in all sorts of ways." (*Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* [London: Macmillan Education, Ltd., 1988; reprint Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1993], 3-4). Martha Rosler, "In, around, and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)," in *Martha Rosler: 3 Works* (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Design, 1981 and "Notes on Quotes," *Wedge* 2 (Fall 1982). Reprinted in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed.

At the root of these methodologies is the realization of the diverse uses to which photography has been put and the variance of discourse into which it has been absorbed. In the Canadian North early this century it was largely the tool of scientific and government sponsored explorations of the region. Although the presence of the Canadian government in the North was not notable until after the transfer of Arctic lands from Britain to Canada in 1880, by the time Moodie, and later Munday, went north the government had a vested interest in securing the region under Canadian jurisdiction.[10] Under international law, establishing sovereignty over the Arctic demanded a show of national presence in the form of a settled population living under the precepts of Canadian law; both became priorities of a government that had ignored the North for decades.[11] While the gold rush of the 1890's had

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Richard Bolton (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989) 303-43; Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," *Art Journal* 42 (Winter 1982). Reprinted in *The Contest of Meaning*, 287-303.

[10] Gillies Ross, "Whaling, Inuit, And The Arctic Islands," in *A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands 1880-1980*, ed. Morris Zaslow. (Ottawa: the Royal Society of Canada, 1981), 50.

[11] William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1985), 1.

focused interest on the Yukon as a potential source of minerals, the federal government had had little impetus to administer the region until the early 1900's.

The presence of foreign whalers and 'explorers' in the Eastern Arctic was, from the 1890's, increasingly viewed as a threat to Canadian sovereignty and this prompted the government to act. At that time the Geological Survey of Canada sponsored the so called Gordon expeditions of the mid 1880's to study navigability, mineral deposits and population for the potential of shipping transport through Hudson Strait in the Eastern Arctic.

On the 1884 and 1885 expeditions geologist Robert Bell, one of the first official photographers, made "a detailed visual record of all stages of the voyages, including ... landforms, ice conditions, whaling stations, meteorological stations, and local Inuit."[12] Subsequently

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[12] Condon, "The History And Development of Arctic Photography," *Arctic Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (1989):59. Earlier but largely unsuccessful attempts at photographing in the North include the American Elisha Kent Kane (1853), Dr. David Walker on Capt. McClintock's Franklin Search Expedition (1857-59). George Simpson McTavish, an amateur photographer and H.B.C. trader and Edward W. Nelson, an ethnologist and ornithologist working for the Smithsonian Institution, made photographic studies of the Alaskan and Labrador Inuit with better results. Robert Bell's work is included here as a more relevant contemporary example of this period of Northern photography. Ibid., 51-4.

on the 1897 voyage of the *Diana*, the use of photography was promoted by Captain William Wakeham and Robert Bell, later director of the Geological Survey of Canada. Both believed that photographs would provide their superiors and the Canadian public with solid proof of the crew's findings.[13]

In 1902, Bell convinced the Canadian government to send the *Neptune*, commanded by A.P. Low, to the western shore of Hudson Bay on another survey mission. The goal of the expedition was twofold. In addition to Low and the crew were Superintendent J.D. Moodie and the first party of North West Mounted Police with the directive to establish a N.W.M.P. post at Fullerton in support of Canada's claim to sovereignty in the Arctic.[14] While Geraldine Moodie did not go north until the following year, the *Neptune's* cargo did include the photographic equipment of at least three photographers. Geologist A.P. Low, official expedition photographer George F. Caldwell and Superintendent Moodie, husband of Geraldine Moodie,

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[13] Jim Burant *et al.*, "To Photograph The Arctic Frontier Part V," *The Archivist* 4, no. 5 (1977): 3-5.

[14] The department of Marine and Fisheries assigned George Caldwell, seemingly as an afterthought, as official photographer. Ibid.,6.

worked in various capacities under a directive to make a complete photographic record of the expedition's activities.[15]

During the winter of 1903 it was Caldwell, Low, Comer and Superintendent Moodie who produced photographs of the region. These efforts did affect the perception of the region. Low's contribution to the body of representation, a weighty report entitled *The Cruise of the Neptune*, was published and illustrated prodigiously with (unaccredited) photographs of landforms, ships and equipment and a small selection of Inuit group portraits, some of poor quality. While researchers at the National Archives of Canada have suggested that "the varied and intimate photographic style" of the *Neptune* pictures demonstrate "[the photographers'] interest in a geographical and human … frontier," the photographs do not necessarily support that assessment. It may indicate more about their desire to humanize the project than about the conduct of photographic sessions that year. The image entitled *Aivilirmuit Women* (Figure 2), typical of the portraiture from this trip, demonstrates no particular sensitivity or

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[15] Ibid., 6. W. Gillies Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The *Neptune* Expedition of 1903-04," *Arctic* 29, no. 2 (1976): 91.

closeness between photographer and subjects.[16]

The Arctic patrols initiated in 1903 with Low's *Neptune*, and expeditions to the Western Arctic were aimed less at mapping unknown lands than at formally claiming them for Canada. A significant part of that information was gained through the photographs of Low and Supt. Moodie.[17] As Richard Grover has observed,

> The historical and contextual study of photography on such expeditions demonstrates the complex nature of different investments in photographic practices, including those of scientific exploration, military campaigning and commercial travel photography.[18]

Indeed, early Arctic photography has agreed with the bounds of topographical, navigation, and ethnographic interests represented on voyages north. From the mid-

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[16] "To Photograph the Arctic Frontier Part V," *The Archivist* 4, no. 5 (1977):7-8. For a further in-depth discussion of the relationships between photographer and subject in expeditionary photographs, see Joanna Cohan Scherer, *Picturing Cultures: Historical Photographs in Anthropological Inquiry*, Visual Anthropology, vol. 3, no. 2-3. (Chur [Switzerland]; New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1990), 141-43.

[17] Morris Zaslow, "Administering The Arctic Islands 1880-1940: Policemen, Missionaries, Fur Traders," in *A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands*, 62-3.

[18] Richard H. Grover, "Imperial Landscapes: Photography, Geography and British Overseas Exploration, 1858-1872," in *Geography and Imperialism*, ed. Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 73.

(Figure 2) Aivilirmiut Women, Fullerton, Hudson's Bay, 1903-1904. Photo by A.P. Low. Geological Survey of Canada, #2804

nineteenth century when the earliest attempts at photography were being made by expedition members, interest in the indigenous people of the North was significant. Robert Bell's 1884 photograph *Eskimos on the Neptune* (Figure 3) shows a small family group on the ship's deck with an assortment of equipment, an image he reportedly framed to include as much ethnographic detail as possible. Archivists writing on the history of Survey images have suggested that it was Bell who influenced the look of Northern representations through his belief not only in the importance of photography as a recording device but in his approach to the subject matter.

When in 1903 the N.W.M.P. established its first Arctic detachments they constituted the "first permanent official presence" of EuroCanadian culture in the North. While, as Olive Dickason has noted, first contact between Europeans and Inuit occurred in the eleventh century, "[f]or most Inuit, first experiences with the new order were through the police," who, "not only...enforc[ed] the law of the dominant society," but in the execution of even routine duties such as the collection of vital statistics and customs fees, played a significant role in

(Figure 3) Eskimos on the Neptune, Arctic, 1884. Photo by Robert Bell. Geological Survey of Canada #7633

establishing EuroCanadian cultural standards.[19]

Although the R.N.W.M.P. had no official policy on the use or role of photography, members were encouraged to make photographs.[20] The Department of the Interior with which the force had a close association from its inception, had a far more definite approach to the procurement and use of photography, one that likely guided the R.N.W.M.P. attitude.[21] Nonetheless, officers such as Sergeant M.H.E. Hayne, Superintendent J.D. Moodie, Sergeant Claude Tidd and Inspector Strickland seized the opportunity, producing visual information on topography and people of the North along the way.[22] Beside the scientific uses of photographs, these images provided a

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[19] Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 378, 369. Dickason estimates the Inuit population in the 1880's to have been approximately 10,000 and currently upwards of 25,000. Ibid., 366.

[20] Glenn Wright, RCMP Historical Section, Ottawa, interview by author, *by telephone*, 1 June, 1997.

[21] Melissa K. Rombout and Ellen Scheinberg, "Projecting Images of the Nation: The Immigration Program and its Use of Lantern Slides," *The Archivist* 111 (1996):13.

[22] Later, members such as Sergeant Arthur Thornthwaite (active 1920's-1930's), Paddy Hamilton, Finley McInnes (1920-1930's), and many others took photographs now valued as records of earlier times in the North. Glenn Wright, R.C.M.P. Historical Section, Ottawa, interview by author, *by telephone*, 1 June, 1997.

view of 'mounties' in the North, something that reinforced the perception in the south of the establishment of law and order in the region.

The period during which the (Royal) N.W.M.P. entered the bounds of Northern Canada was a historical moment that spawned multitudes of representations. In effect, it constituted both a physical and ideological conquest of a foreign territory.[23] The discrepancy between actual duties and visual or literary representations of this period in Canadian history point to the project of national myth-making. A sizable body of work, including imagery from popular culture, volumes of fiction, biography and history, spanning several decades constructed the notion of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police members as gentleman heroes, able to conquer the harsh elements and bring the order of the Empire north.

The ideological function of the force's image is clear in the profile assumed for its members. As Walden has pointed out, in much of the popular fiction 'mounties' were often described as "well bred" and "represent[ative] of the best blood of Canada, Britain and America."[24] Linked

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[23] Hugh Brody quoted in Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 369.

[24] Keith Walden, *Visions of Order: The Canadian*

to virtues of good judgement, integrity and soundness of mind and body, the superiority of this physical type was reified as the rightful authority figure in Canadian society.

Moreover, the appeal of the force became inextricably linked in the popular perception with the conditions of Northern Service. At a time when nation building was at the forefront of Canadian culture, the search for something to claim as unique drew the imagination to the Arctic as something separate from Britain or America. Jana Bara has suggested the way in which nationalist/ imperialist ideology infused the Northern theme in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century representations of Canada. She notes that:

> In the rhetoric of the time, the severity of the Northern climate was exalted as beneficial to the development of physical strength and character, thus turning the adverse aspects of Canada into dynamic forces working for national greatness …. The "true North, strong and Free", was often poetically described as the "Northern kingdom", the "Britain of the North", and symbolized as the "Lady of the Snows", or "Fair and stalwart maiden of the north.[25]

Mounties in Symbol and Myth (Toronto: Butterworth & Co., 1982), 31.

[25] Carl Berger, *Nationalism in Canada* 1966, 3-24; W. Pitman Lett *Annexation and British Connection, Address to brother Jonathan* (1889) quoted in Jana Bara, "The Image of Canada Iconological Sources of Canadian Popular Symbolism: Nineteenth Century Souvenir Photographs" (Ph.D. diss, Concordia University, 1991), 231, 284-85.

Through sheer repetition aspects of its definition have been naturalized until they have become part of an established image.[26] Representations of the North in fiction, histories and the popular press contemporary with Moodie and Munday upheld many of the stereotypes of the North. EuroCanadian social conventions that defined the proper role of women as passive, sensitive beings, combined with the existing characterizations of the North as a physically and mentally demanding region to inscribe it as a male domain. Such assertions were put across in popular representations and were deeply entrenched in the institutional culture of the North. Diamond Jenness's (1964) history of *Eskimo Administration* which included the

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[26] Certain recurring patterns in the 'mountie' sub-genre point to both the values and processes behind the construction of the force's image. One example is the myths surrounding the fate of Inspector Fitzgerald of the Lost Yukon patrol. Two accounts, although fifty-one years apart, describe the central figure's choice of northern service over marriage in similar terms: as the result of his fiancee's inability to "fully understand that he was already affianced to that inexorable bride, the North" (T. Morris Longstreth, *The Silent Force: Scenes from the Life of the Mounted Police of Canada* [New York: Century, 1927] 262) and because "the girl could hardly know or understand that her fiance's soul was already captured by...the vast land of the northern forests." (Dick North's *The Lost Patrol*` [Anchorage: The Alaskan Northwest, 1978; reprint Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 1995] 36 [page citations are to the reprint edition]) Such depictions locate the feminine as treacherous and clearly out of place in the story of the 'mounties' Northern adventures.

declaration that, "In a land...where the climate demanded that men be men, the reputation of the police deservedly stood high," is a rich example of the sentiment.[27]

Indeed, as Barbara Kelcey's (1994) examination of the representations and history of white women in the North has suggested:

> The historiography of the North has long focussed on exploration, economic development, and political evolution with an emphasis on the role of the missionaries, the RCMP and the HBC. ... until recently, history about the north was not only male-defined, but featured hagiographic accounts of those few men who have become part of the Arctic legend.[28]

Kelcey's work has thrown light on the size of the community of EuroCanadian women. Her statistics show that in the seventy-two years after confederation approximately four hundred and seventy white women lived or conducted extensive travel in the NWT.[29] The small number of R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. wives including Moodie, Munday, a Mrs. Craig aboard the *Arctic* in 1923, Mrs. Margaret Clay at

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[27] Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II. Canada.* Technical Paper, no. 14, (n.p.: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 22.

[28] Barbara Kelcey, "Jingo Belles, Jingo Belles, Dashing Through the Snow: White Women and Empire on Canada's Arctic Frontier" (Ph.d. diss., University of Manitoba, 1994), 16.

[29] Ibid., 21. Kelcey's dissertation includes an extensive listing of names, dates and locations of these individuals. Ibid., 23-34.

Chesterfield Inlet in 1924 and Mrs. Caulkin stationed at Herschel Island, 1926, is attributable to a number of factors. Not only did severe restrictions on marriage for members below senior officer standing reduce their numbers but the dearth of information or mention of wives in any official records or correspondence obscures the record of those who were there.[30]

Of the handful of published references to the experience of 'mounties' wives, from T. Morris Longstreth's 1927 conventional history dedicated "To the Wives of the Force" to the occasional story included in the *Scarlet and Gold* magazine, most are cloaked in the masculinist rhetoric of the 'frontier.' Within the array of celebratory literature published around the time of the

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[30] Ibid., 24-6. A factor of minor import is the scope of her study which excludes those posted to the Yukon and Northern Provincial detachments. Prominent R.N.W.M.P. wives there include Henrietta Constantine and Tannis Strickland, Dawson 1895-98. (Helene Dobrowolsky, *Law of the Yukon* [Whitehorse: Lost Moose Publishing, 1994]). Constantine was an amateur photographer who made images of the Peace River-Yukon Patrol, the area around Lesser Slave Lake, now called Grouard, and other subjects now at the R.C.M.P. Museum, Glenbow and National Archives. Caroline Augusta Jakes Sander's diary of her 1927 experiences (Glenbow Museum and Archives), Lily Humphries McIlree's diaries of 1884 (R.C.M.P. Museum) and 1892 (Glenbow Museum and Archives), while outside the scope of this study deserve mention as representations of the experience. Thanks to Dr. Katherine Carter for bringing these to my attention (personal communication, 16 September, 1997).

force's centennial in 1973 much of the pattern persisted. Anecdotes in Joy Duncan's 1974 book *Red Serge Wives*, the only widely circulated publication devoted to the histories of such women describe the proper role of R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. wives as sources of "quiet courage" rather than "the flamboyant courage with which one associates the men of the R.C.M.P." The appropriateness of passive, nurturing roles for women in the history of policing the North and West is reiterated in Joy Duncan's observation that, "chosen often for the most unromantic of reasons, a young man could indeed count himself fortunate when his wife turned out to be a comfort, a helpmeet, [and] an uncomplaining source of strength."[31]

While acknowledgment of women's place in such endeavours is welcome, there are consequences of letting this stereotypical image stand. Margaret Strobel has warned that much of the current nostalgia for the colonialist and settlement periods have placed women in the role of cultural redeemers for the former colonial powers. Strobel calls specifically for, "A critical perspective on the subject of European women in the

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[31] Joy Duncan, ed., *Red Serge Wives* (Edmonton: Centennial Book Committee, 1974; reprint, Edmonton: Lone Pine, 1985), 57, 28, 33.

colonies," to counteract "the current resurgence of colonial nostalgia, and its particular manifestation of portraying heroic white women in colonial settings."[32]

Wives of mounted police officers living in remote Northern detachments were in many ways positioned as women on a colonial frontier and there is little reason to believe that their actions or understanding of the Northern communities were anything other than conventional for their time. It is true that when wives were included in official histories they were largely defined by that affiliation. A woman attempting to make her own mark in such a milieu had their work cut out for them. Obligated to maintain a certain decorum for social and professional purposes, police wives had an array of barriers to negotiate in executing their own projects. In the North especially, where the climate and remoteness often placed restrictions on the customary resources, such women faced the challenge of finding meaningful and viable work.[33]

A search for historical photography of the Canadian North produced by women turns up a very small selection of

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[32] Margaret Strobel, *European Women*, ix.

[33] They might be included in the group of women Helen Buss describes in *Mapping Ourselves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English* as "caught in [resisting] psychological positions and historical opportunities,"

practices. Luta Munday's and Geraldine Moodie's are two linked by elements of context. What the two practices share, in addition to a similar historical moment and choice of medium, is a substantial involvement with the institutional infrastructure that, in part, determined their experience of the North and factored into the circulation of their representations. As wives of R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. officers, they gained rare year-round access to the North, and the relative comfort of married officers' accommodations. They had more freedom in their practice of photography than did those engaged in the force or other official bodies yet they were excluded from the accreditation and channels of distribution that promoted the work of established authors or government scientists and ethnographers working around them. They had a different relationship with their subjects, based on their gender and unofficial status and at the same time were frequently associated with the standards and the projects of the force in the Arctic. Considering the practices of Moodie and Munday in chronological order, however, risks opening this study to misinterpretations. Because the format of Munday's representation allows for a more direct and articulate voice, readers may wrongly

(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 124.

perceive an intimation of improved positions for women in the intervening decades to be the cause. Further, as no evidence has surfaced that she knew of or was influenced by Moodie's work and as the two conducted practices in widely different traditions, any conclusion that one grew out of the other is to be avoided. To discourage either of these readings the expected chronology of the chapters has been disrupted.

Both practices demonstrated an interest in portraiture and in Inuit cultures but they did differ in important respects. In comparison to Moodie who had professional accreditation, Munday worked as a serious amateur keeping "notes" with an eye to eventual publication.[34] Moreover, while their choice and treatment of Northern indigenous subject matter is a virtual hinge between the two practices, Munday and Moodie worked in divergent traditions, defining their approaches in the broadest terms, by an inward versus an outward focus. Luta

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[34] Status is complicated by practices such as those of geologist A.P. Low and whaling captain George Comer who held professional designations in other fields and made photographs in the course of their work. Lily Koltun, *Private Realms of Light* (Markham: Fitzhenry Whiteside, 1984), 56. Munday's notes recall the practice of many women in the North who, with the restrictions of an annual mail exchange, wrote with the expectations of a semi-public circulation of their accounts as a short cut to correspondence with friends and family. (Kelcey, 20.)

Munday first went north with her husband Walter in 1906 when he was posted to a one-man detachment at Cumberland House, Manitoba. From there they moved to The Pas and, in 1922, seventeen years after the Moodies, to Chesterfield, just outside the Inlet from Fullerton. Munday's choice of the illustrated memoir format locates her work at the edges of autobiography and self-portraiture. In her book she presents herself in a series of carefully composed images that effectively visualize her transformation from a southern police spouse to a seasoned Northerner and authoritative voice of the narrative.

The significance of the written word in Munday's photographic representations is one element that distinguishes her practice from Moodie's. Although no solid attribution of the photographs can be made based on the information currently available, the authorship of the images is not in doubt. Munday's references to her own photographic activity, while they verify the fact of her own practice, do not pertain directly to these images. Rather her authorization of the images is established in their placement in the book, their composition and in the purposefully possessive language that weaves them into the narrative. The caption accompanying each photograph provides few specifics of date and location; each caption

describes the image in terms of the subjects and its/their relationship to the narrative.

Geraldine Moodie's northern postings began when she accompanied the 1904 patrol of the C.G.S. *Arctic*. For Moodie, despite certain official restrictions on her practice, the stay in the North was professionally productive; her portraits from the 1904-05 Fullerton Harbour posting are among her best known.[35] Most of her Fullerton photographs evince the styles of both ethnographic and studio portraiture that she developed during her years as a professional photographer on the prairies.

In addition to filling in some of the more problematic gaps in the historical record, investigation of the photographic practices of Moodie and Munday, and specifically how they produced the North in text and in photographs, may help to locate the underpinnings of the tropes surrounding the North. Investigation of the practices operating beyond the frames of those people and landscapes 'captured' in the work of Moodie and Munday can

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[35] The amount and proximity of photographic activity at the small post have created difficulty in determining authorship for some researchers. The images included in this study are solidly attributable to Moodie on the basis of visible signatures or documentation at the National Archives of Canada.

do no less.

Chapter 1 A Memoir: Luta Munday Pictures Herself in the North

> There have been many histories, many romances, and many tales written and woven about the members of that famous body of men "The Royal North-West Mounted Police," but no mention has been made of the helpmates of these men, and this is my excuse for telling of my life for over twenty years as the wife of one of these members.
>
> Luta Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*

Volumes of autobiographical accounts have been written by southern sojourners in the North. The majority of these feature the mysterious and dangerous North as the setting for the trials and triumphs of an author; in short, most are heroic tales. A significant sub-genre of this literature is based on the archetype of the 'mountie.'[1] When Luta Munday decided to write and publish an illustrated memoir of her life in Northern detachments, and to proclaim her affiliation with the force, she faced the challenge of carving out a place for herself in what had been inscribed as the domain of the heroic (EuroCanadian) male figure.[2]

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[1] In *Visions of Order*, Keith Walden declines to separate fictional and non-fictional accounts on the basis that such categorizations do not affect the structure or function of the symbol, 13.

[2] Although the introduction proposes to tell the story of detachment life, eleven of the eighteen chapters of Munday's book have a Northern setting, seven of them during the two years spent at Chesterfield Inlet.

The above excerpt from the opening of her 1930 memoir *A Mounty's* [sic] *Wife* is indicative of a negotiation of these notions; here Munday acknowledges the icon of the mounted police and then begins the work of asserting her own right to inclusion in that history. A significant element of that effort is the series of photographic self-portraits included in her book. In photographs entitled *Ourselves As We Are, Myself in Indian Clothes, Ourselves in Esquimo* [sic] *Clothes, Myself and Esquimo Woman* and *Chesterfield. Myself At The Entrance Of An Igloo*, she appears in various types of indigenous dress accompanied by literal descriptions of herself in the clothes of "indians" and "esquimos," people she defines in her narrative as the cultural Other. Although her title and her invocation of the "helpmate" figure have been read as self-effacement, there is significant evidence that Munday deliberately constructs an identity for herself at the centre, rather than the margins, of Northern lore.[3]

This chapter examines the series of Munday's photographic self-portraits in terms of their subject, composition and coding as well their function in the

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[3] In *Mapping Ourselves*, Helen Buss describes her as "the self-effacing Luta Munday, who displaces her identity into her husband's even in her title" (124).

overall theme of the book: Munday's assertion of a prominent place in the 'opening' North. A key componen of Munday's theme, the transformation evident in her self-portraits from southern police wife to experienced Northerner, is in itself a complex and controversial project. From the frontispiece photograph of *A Mounty's Wife*, entitled *Ourselves As We Are* (Figure 4), Munday's introduction to the reader is carefully orchestrated.[4] This first photograph is, in corroboration of her title perhaps, a double portrait of herself and her R.C.M.P. husband, Sergeant Walter Munday. In this image Sergeant Munday stands, sombrely engaging the viewer, one arm behind his wife, the other by his side, his hand clenched in a gesture of unease. He wears, not the scarlet dress tunic of the R.C.M.P., but the standard Undress Order of the 1930's.[5] Munday appears with her hair pinned back

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[4] I.S. MacLaren's suggestion that the frontispiece image is significant for its ability to position an author (specifically Paul Kane) for a readership is applicable to this instance.

[5] The usual Undress Order of this day consisted of the forage cap, blue jacket, pantaloons, knee boots or ankle boots with leggings and jack spurs. It was to be worn at R.N.W.M.P. parades, inspection of barracks and for office duties. (James J. Boulton, *Uniforms of the Canadian Mounted Police*, [North Battleford: Turner-Warwick Publications, 1990], 263.)

(Figure 4) Ourselves As We Are, 1930. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, frontispiece

wearing a conservatively cut dress that reaches up to a high neckline and down to below her knee. She stands on the left of her husband, leaning into him, one hand grasping the belt of his uniform at the cross brace, the other out of sight. She looks directly at the camera, a contented smile on her face.

The impact of visual and textual elements on the viewing of this and other images in Munday's book explains why any analysis of her photographs must consider the conventions of both photography and literature. Such combinations of text and photographs as Munday's representation have been described. by Marsha Bryant as "photo-textualities", a term which, rather than setting up a hierarchical, dualistic or, conversely, a seamless relationship between the elements, acknowledges "the multiple and competing ways in which the visual and verbal components ... interact."[6] In Munday's book the two

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[6] Marsha Bryant, introduction to *Photo-Textualities: Reading Photographs and Literature*, ed. Marsha Bryant (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 11. Other arguments on the subject include Roland Barthe's ideas on the "discursive hierarchy" in which text is privileged as the more precise medium (quoted in Bryant, Introduction to *Photo-Textualities*, 13), and John Tagg's call for more study of the photographic image "as a rhetorical construction" in itself and for investigation of "the interpenetration of visual and verbal codes" instead of their rigid separation (*The Burden of Representation*

elements carry on a volatile relationship; captions and general conventions shape the narrative and impact the viewing of the photographs while the images communicate unique, and occasionally, contradictory information.

Much recent scholarship has examined photography as a medium which operates in a unique visual language or code, the terms of which hold currency only in very specific contexts. Such an approach, aimed at destabilizing the tropes of objectivity and transparency is behind Abigail Solomon-Godeau's caution that any form which seems to "speak [for] itself, as do realist forms in general ... should alert us ... to the working of ideology which always functions to naturalize the cultural."[7] John Tagg has suggested further that photographs "be seen as a composite of signs, more to be compared with a complex sentence than a single word ... [who's] meanings are multiple, concrete and, most important, *constructed*."[8] The photographs included in *A Mounty's Wife* must be examined

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[7]Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Who Is Speaking Thus?" in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, by Abigail Solomon-Godeau (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 182.

[8] Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 187.

on the level of the composition and coding discussed by Tagg but also at the level of ideology or function suggested by Solomon-Godeau.

Though the images alone clearly carry substantial weight in the book, an analysis cannot ignore the caption appended in each case which guides their reading. Kevin G. Barnhurst has suggested that when text is the privileged component in such composite representations, "[t]he caption eliminates all the potential narrative frames but one, the depicted content."[9] The lack of specific information, in terms of location, date and, in some cases, names, included in the captions in *A Mounty's Wife* results in a suppression of the conditions under which the photographs were made in favour of the narrative supplied by the author. The texts appended to Munday's photographs do provide important clues about how she intends the images to be viewed.

In the frontispiece photograph, the assertion of a very particular identity and related negotiation of contemporary Northern literature is evident. Set up as a visual introduction of the author, it stands as a

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[9] Kevin G. Barnhurst, "The Alternative Vision: Lewis Hine's Men at Work and the Dominant Culture," quoted in Bryant, introduction to *Photo-textualities*, 13.

representation of the narrative voice. Here, Munday portrays herself quite literally as a 'mountie's wife.' Rather than choosing a self-portrait of herself alone, she presents herself as physically connected to Sergeant Munday, a degree of her weight displaced onto him, the line of her arm and white of her hand drawing the viewer's eye to that part of his uniform which she holds. Munday's concern with status is apparent here too. Not only does her own dress and the couple's place in a verdant setting indicate a suburban middle-class lifestyle but she interferes with a reading of her husband's professional standing: because of her pose, a key indicator of Sergeant Munday's rank is obscured. The Sam Browne equipment (belt and shoulder brace) of that period denoted rank by its attachment to the belt (officer) or to the pistol case (other ranks); Munday's hand, by resting just at this point, conceals this identity.[10]

Writing on the memoir, James Goodwin has noted that

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[10] Boulton, *Uniforms Of The Canadian Mounted Police*, 185. Walter Munday's service file at the National Archives of Canada is jammed with petitions from his apparently well-connected mother-in-law and many of her politician friends inquiring about promotions, more stable postings and better living conditions. (National Archives of Canada, Officer's Record of Service, RG 18, vol. 3456, file 0-217, pt. 2).

the format, by its very nature, includes at least two active time periods: an historical time in which the events being related occurred and a present or later period from which the narration is told.[11] In *A Mounty's Wife*, as in similar publications, the frontispiece image is one that broaches that temporal framework. The title of Munday's frontispiece image, *Ourselves As We Are*, describes the image as that of the experienced, narrative voice, separate from Munday as the subject of Northern adventure. In this photograph, the full leaf of the bush against a white-sided building in the background and Sergeant Munday's white forage cap reinforces the perception of the setting as a southern, urban centre, likely Winnipeg, described in the final chapter of Munday's book as the last and current post of the couple.[12] Further, it gives the author the opportunity to confirm, in visual terms, Sergeant Munday's status as an R.C.M.P. officer and her own position as a 'mountie's' wife.

Munday, by emphasizing her affiliation with the R.C.M.P. through the visual and textual elements in this

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[11] James Goodwin, *Autobiography: The Self Made Text* (New York: Twayne, 1993), 147.

[12] Boulton, 273.

image, attempts to establish herself as a credible authorial presence according to the standards of southern urban 1930 Canada. Moreover, the context in which the image is featured, the genre of memoir and the physical location in the book endow the image with the power to describe the narrative voice in terms of location, status and cultural position.

Another aspect of the introductory function of frontispiece is that it is specifically coded for viewers/readers of the author's home culture, and therefore is meant to address a readership which shares common cultural ground with the author. As such it provides a clear indication of the audience for which Munday (and her publisher) writes.[13]

To properly examine Munday's representations, one must consider the tradition of Northern literature in which she worked. By the 1920's when she compiled the material for her book, the existing canon consisted of exploration and travel narratives, autobiographical, fictional and historical accounts that revolved around a

[13] Goodwin points out that "[a]s narrative, autobiography entails relationships within the writer's experience and identity structured or patterned by the passage of time," 10.

set of romantic notions and national/imperial myths.[14] Published and written for a European, American or southern Canadian audience, such works were based on the personal experience of, almost invariably, a man who held special knowledge, skills or titles that made him particularly suited to life in the North. In addition to such qualifications, often represented by an official designation, such authors often displayed evidence of the personal virtues associated with that standing: stamina, good judgement and courage. A sound market for these formulaic narratives, romanticized adventures and archetypal personas was developed, and in turn, influenced production.

Munday, who describes herself as an avid reader, was familiar with much of this literature. While Longfellow, Tennyson, Byron and Dickens are praised for keeping her in touch with "civilization," Parry and Scott are lauded as

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[14] This reference is to ideology and does not differentiate between sides in the debate over whether Canada should develop its ties to Britain (imperialism or imperial federation) or its own policies (nationalism) carried on between the mid 1880's and 1914. Essentially a political point, both positions were aimed at nation-building but advocated different means. (Carl Berger, ed., introduction to *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought*, in Issues in Canadian History, [Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1969], 1-8.)

heroic adventurers.[15] Moreover, she is well versed in the (roughly) contemporary literature coming out of the Canadian North and states her admiration for authors like Jack Hornby, Vilhamjur Stefansson, Mina Hubbard and Agnes C. Laut.[16] Indeed, she credits Knud Rasmussen with much of her understanding of Inuit culture and cites "the very strong urging of one of [Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition members], Peter Freucken [sic]," as the impetus behind the writing of her own book.[17] As a non-professional Munday chose one of the few genres which allowed for private rather than public perspective; in so doing, she positioned hers alongside other autobiographical works such as those she acknowledged as familiar.

This canon of Northern literature that existed before

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[15] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, (London: The Sheldon Press, 1930), 38, 61-2. Munday, quoting Thomas à Kempis, claims that "[b]ooks think for me" 61.

[16] Munday recalls Laut passing through Cumberland House during her time there, and gathering some "fearful and marvellous tales" from its residents. She credits Laut with being "the first in Canada to realize the amazing wealth of romantic history that lay back of the opening up and exploring of the middle and far west of Canada" (*A Mounty's Wife*, 54).

[17] The Fifth Thule Expedition passed through Chesterfield Inlet in 1922, a week after her arrival (Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 138). Various members seem to have revisited periodically ("The Control of the Arctic Regions," Commissioner's Report *Session Paper no. 21*,

1930, when Munday's book was published, largely upheld Romantic and colonialist perceptions of the region.[18] Such notions and emphasis on a heroic central character were a perfect fit for that icon of Canadiana, the 'mountie'. In volumes of fiction, autobiography (M.E. Hayne, Cecil Denny, Sam Steele, C.P. Constantine) and many conventional histories (Fetherstonaugh, Longstreth, MacBeth), characterizations of the work and members of 'the force' reiterated a particular mix of imperialist and heroic ideals that became the standard. Indeed, as Keith Walden has noted, "the heroic image of the Mounted Police ... emerged not from their own actions but rather from 'the already well developed romantic conception of the North American Frontier.'"[19] In this sub-genre, the values of loyalty, morality, order and intelligence, virtual paraphrasing of the oath taken upon engagement, described officers effectively as "agents of progress" and

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appendix A, 33).

[18] The most cursory of surveys produces book titles such as *The Wild North Wind* (1873), *Thrilling Tales of the Frozen North* (1894), *The Wild North Land* (1896), *Lords of the North* (1920), *The Land of Silence* (1921) and *The Mysterious North* (1956).

[19] Stan Horrall, *The Pictorial History of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973) 118, quoted in Walden, 153.

harbingers of "civilization."[20] The archetype of the mounted police and their duties were tied to the North. As R.C. Fetherstonaugh observed, in the popular imagination, "the most dramatic work of the force was still being accomplished in the lonely outposts of the North," even when the bulk of its work was actually being done in southern cities.[21]

With this terrain well mapped in the cultural, not to mention the publishing, industry Munday faced certain perceptual and concrete barriers in telling her story. As Richard Phillips has noted, in the body of adventure tales set in the 'wilds' or North,

> [women were] the marginalised sisters, girlfriends, wives and mothers whom the boys [and men left] behind. As readers, they were marginalised, since writers and publishers refused to acknowledge them by writing explicitly to or for them.[22]

Munday, who received little or no professional training in photography or writing and went north at a relatively young age, was obligated not only to establish herself as an authority on the subject but to offer

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[20] Walden, 212.

[21] R.C. Fetherstonaugh, *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (New York: Garden City Publishing, 1940), 187, quoted in Walden, 71.

[22] Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A*

comparable excitement to a potential readership.[23] Clearly, much of her narrative and imagery derive from the perceived exotic quality of that life in the North and is therefore connected, at least in part, to her husband's work. In the subsequent self-portraits in her book she attempts to project a degree of the romance related to Northern detachment life. Moreover, these images are framed, literally and figuratively, by a narrative which claims for Munday a unique suitability to Northern life, a close affiliation with the R.N.W.M.P. and the EuroCanadian culture, all cloaked in the rhetoric of the frontier and of nation building.

The composition of Munday's frontispiece provides a reader/viewer with clues to how the subsequent Northern photographs should be read. In contrast to the image made in Winnipeg, those set in Northern locations, *Myself in Indian Clothes, Ourselves in Esquimo Clothes, Myself and Esquimo Woman* and *Myself At Entrance Of An Igloo,* reveal a perceptible split between the Southern and Northern

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Geography of Adventure, (London: Routledge, 1997), 89.

[23] In two episodes Munday recalls being nicknamed "esquasis" or "little girl" by Cree neighbours and mistaken for a school girl which she notes "I really ought to have been," by Whites at Cumberland House. (Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 29-30).

profiles assumed by Munday. In a Northern setting, she portrays herself as one immersed in the culture and landscape of The Pas and Chesterfield Inlet by freely adopting elements of the indigenous Cree and Inuit cultures.

Munday's choice of tightly framed, frontal, full or near full-length format for her self-portraits, in addition to her captions, directs the viewers' attention to the bodies and attire of her subjects. Clothing, in fact, constitutes one of the key signifiers of identity employed in Munday's photographs. Writing on the meaning of clothing and clothing exchange in intercultural contact situations, David Tomas has suggested that, historically, clothing has been a key identifying marker of ethnic identity. He notes that clothing styles unique to specific ethnic groups serve both to differentiate members from non-members and to integrate them as a coherent unit.[24] As an example, he takes the historical accounts of eighteenth-century English sailors who, after capturing an Andamese Islander, insist on dressing him in a standard marine uniform as a means of "provid[ing his] body ...

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[24] David Tomas, *Transcultural Spaces And Transcultural Beings* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 26-27, 79.

with a common aesthetic geography," therefore normalizing his appearance and integrating him into their ship-board culture.[25] In comparison to this model in which external attributes, however temporarily, indicate cultural affiliation, the dynamics of Munday's self-portraits are complex; while her visual image positions her in harmony with the indigenous Cree and Inuit cultures, the messages of her narrative are derogatory.

The first instance of this appropriation of identity occurs in the portrait of Munday entitled *Myself in Indian Clothes* (Figure 5).[26] Here Munday stands in an outdoor setting, against a lattice-work screen draped with furs. She wears what appears to be a buckskin dress tied at the waist and laced with strings of beads. A broad band covering her forehead with several centimetres of rough material is topped by a headpiece of three erect feathers. Again the use of language in the caption is significant; it echoes the split between what Munday identifies as "[her]self", the main subject of the photograph, and the "Indian clothes" in which she presents herself for view.

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[25] Tomas, 77.

[26] Because the images are not directly referenced in the text it is difficult to pin down an exact time and place.

(Figure 5) Myself in Indian Clothes, undated. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, pg. 94

There is the intimation in the composition and accompanying text of a disingenuous performance being staged for the camera. A photograph on the same page, entitled *Noon meal, with our Indian Guides* (Figure 6), reinforces the perception. In it three Native men and a woman, likely Munday, are pictured resting on a shore wearing denim work clothes. On of the figures in this image are dressed in the "Indian Clothes" of the above portrait. More likely, the screen, pose and costume of the earlier portrait indicate that the photograph was made as a souvenir, taken perhaps at a pageant or event of some type but certainly not from daily life.[27]

Indeed, Munday furnishes proof that she sees her "Indian Clothes" as a facade. On a trip "home to England" she attends a dress ball where she is reluctantly "persuaded to go and wear my Indian costume, which I had

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[27] While the exact location is not given, one possibility is suggested in the Red River Pageants which celebrated the 250th anniversary of the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company. Held in 1920 in Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg, they featured staged and well documented ceremonies and dances in commemoration of the 'partnership' between the company and aboriginal peoples. (Peter Geller, "Hudson's Bay Company Indians" in Dressing in Feathers: the Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird [Boulder: Westview Press Inc., 1996], 65.)

(Figure 6) Noon Meal With Our Indian Guides, undated. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in *A Mounty's Wife*, opposite pg. 98

taken to show the family." [28] The assumption of identity is effected in her reminiscence that "I was properly painted, and everyone thought I was a real Indian. I never had such a time in my life. They were all most interested in my clothes and the beautiful bead work of the Indians."[29]

This presentation of the image and description of the masquerade, placed together in her memoir, stand in marked contrast to an account given earlier by Munday of the Native culture of Northern Saskatchewan. Of her stay at Cumberland House between 1906 and 1908, she includes two episodes, both of which indicate a divided community and her alliance with the aims of the force. [30] In the first she recalls that,

> ... we came upon a fight among some drunken Indians. Walter attempted to stop them, while I stood on one side terrified and tried to comfort a crying Indian child. We had nowhere to take prisoners and no justice of the peace at that time, so just had to let them go until a magistrate could be appointed .... we learned later that they thought they could do as they

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[28] Luta Munday was born in Toronto, Walter was born in England. Her choice of language, then, implies either an imperialist sympathy or identification with Walter's family or heritage. (*A Mounty's Wife*, 90).

[29] Ibid., 97.

[30] The Mundays were posted to Cumberland House, Saskatchewan between 1906 and 1908 and to The Pas, Manitoba (then Northwest Territories) between 1908 and 1914. (Public Archives of Canada, Officer's Record of Service, RG 18, vol. 3456, file 0-217 pt. 2).

pleased.

This is followed closely by an account of a distraught man arrested and brought to their cabin late one night. Of this episode she recalls that:

> Walter easily put him down and held him, but could not do that and iron him also, as the Indian was fighting mad ... so I sat upon him while Walter put them on, and a funny sight we must have been, the women standing around weeping, ourselves half dressed, my hair streaming, and the struggling, yelling Indian on the ground with me perched on his chest.[31]

Clearly, a glaring contradiction exists between such verbal and photographic images. Within the larger design, a few select threads can be distinguished. First is the constructed opposition between the image of the 'mountie' and that of the Indian, a recurrent pattern in existing literature, described by Daniel Francis as "one of the great romances of Canadian history," in which "[I]t was the fate of the Indian to play the role of villain."[32] Intersecting this motif in Munday's work is the ongoing negotiation of the image of women in representations of Northern and wilderness adventures and the persistent myth

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[31] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 33, 34.

[32] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian; The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 61.

of the noble savage. More likely, the photograph of Munday "in Indian Clothes" and others like it demonstrate her negotiation of the evolving, and occasionally conflicting, roles of women and the romance associated with 'mounties' and with aspects of Native cultures.

This clearly presented problems; the tropes attached to Northern adventure and indigenous culture did not transfer as easily onto notions of early twentieth-century femininity. In existing examples of portraiture in the memoir format gender boundaries dictated separate presentations for male and female authors. While several memoirs written by scientists, traders and police officers (Godsell, Steele, Hayne, Rasmussen) showed their male authors dressed in indigenous clothing styles as an indication of their aptitude for life in the North, the same approach was less often taken to the portraiture of women (Louise Rourke, Mina Hubbard, Agnes Deans Cameron).

Early this century a negotiation of identity was taking place for women writing on the North. Efforts to portray oneself as an adventurer and a 'proper lady' are evident in several such memoirs by women authors. In terms of visual representations, the phenomenon has been described as "'women in men's clothing'" denoting the mix

of traditional gender roles and images.[33] Characters of fiction such as 'Nell' in Bessie Marchant's *Daughters of the Dominion* (1909) who was depicted "in thick skirts with axe at her side and nature underfoot," stood alongside the images of women authors featured in their own books.[34] Travel narratives, such as Agnes Deans Cameron's The New North and Mina Hubbard's expeditionary tale A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador, feature photographs of the authors in essentially hybrid outfits; they sport military style jackets and stetsons, and carry rifles but retain the modest long skirts of the time.

An understanding of Munday's self-portrait as caught between denigration and appropriation of Cree culture allows for the possibility of a deliberate selection of cultural elements. Indeed, the spectre of what Daniel Francis has called "Imaginary Indian," an image of Natives based not in fact but on the expectations of the EuroCanadian culture, is in evidence here. Robert Baird has suggested further that the persistence of the phenomenon in American culture, from earliest contact to the late-twentieth century, has emerged in part from the

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[33] Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, 90.

[34] Ibid., 104.

search for an "Americanness": an identity at once separate from European cultures and aligned with the Romantic ideals of freedom and harmony with nature.[35]

Since neither the daring and endurance required of 'mounties' and adventurers nor the earthiness of the (imaginary) Native archetypes permitted white women authors a viable persona, there were few options available for women such as Munday. Her photograph, *Myself In Indian Clothes*, and her appearance in England indicate the influence of another contemporary model. The phenomenon of what Francis has called "celebrity Indians," high profile figures who embodied the romantic expectations of the non-Native community without challenging their values, was at its peak in the early decades of this century.[36] Two

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[35] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, introduction, passim; Robert Baird, "Going Indian: Discovery, Adoption, and Renaming Toward a 'True American,' from *Deerslayer* to *Dances with Wolves*," in *Dressing in Feathers*, 196-99.

[36] In the late 1920's and early 1930's another prominent figure, Buffalo Child Long Lance, appeared on the social scene. His autobiography was published in 1928, along with *Men of the Last Frontier*, the first book by Grey Owl. (Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 131.) Grey Owl, who was, of course, non-Native, appeared in "full plume and buckskin," on his 1935 lecture tour of Britain. The popularity of Grey Owl's books, and his image, were based on current notions of the romanticized "natural" lifestyle he was thought to represent. (E.E. Reynolds, *A Book Of Grey Owl: Pages from the Writing of Wa-sha-quon-asin*, with an introduction by Hugh Eayers [Toronto: Macmillan, 1938],

individuals, Grey Owl and "The Mohawk Princess," Pauline Johnson, were widely known examples.

Johnson, who was indeed part Mohawk, had a thriving career as a poet and travelled extensively in Europe and North America between 1892 and 1909 giving public readings of her work. In her performances Johnson wore a costume consisting of "[a] buckskin dress, fringed at the hem to reveal a lining of red wool and decorated at the neck with silver brooches, buckskin leggings and moccasins ... [with] a necklace of ermine tails," an outfit not derived from any one tradition but one Francis describes as a "polyglot."[37] It is possible that Munday saw in Johnson some commonality of purpose. Not only did the poet represent a romantic and feminine image but she had repeatedly professed admiration for the then R.N.W.M.P. during her career. In one of her best known poems, "Riders of the Plains," she wrote:

> These are the famed that the North has named the "Riders of the Plains,"/ And theirs is the might and the meaning and the strength of the bulldog's jaw,/ While they keep the peace of the people and the honour of British law.

Moreover, Johnson wrote a short story entitled "Mother o'

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xvi.)

[37] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 114.

the Men" based on the character of a 'mountie's' wife whom she described as as "courageous a woman, as ever Gibraltar or the Throne Room knew."[38] This mix of colonialist notions and quest for romantic history provided a niche in popular culture for the idea of Indianness which fit the requirements of the EuroCanadian population comfortably.

That Munday was disappointed by the reality of the Cree she encountered is obvious in her description of the native culture around her subsequent posting at The Pas:

> The European type of clothes was worn by these Indians, except that the women wore varied coloured shawls and silk-worked moccasins .... The costumes were very unlike those of the Indians of the prairies, who, on fete days, wear beautiful bead-embroidered clothes, and the men gorgeous eagle-feathered head-dresses; even their saddles are heavily embroidered with beads.[39]

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[38] Pauline Johnson, "Riders of the Plains" in *Flint and Feather: The Complete Poems of Pauline Johnson* (Toronto: Mussen, 1912), 12-20; E. Pauline Johnson, "Mother o' the Men," in *The Moccasin Maker*, with an introduction, Annotation, and Bibliography by LaVonne Brown Ruoff (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987) 180-94. Notes, 249-53. An article entitled "Riders of the Plains" by Mrs. W. Garland Foster appearing in an edition of the *Scarlet and Gold*, the magazine published by the R.N.W.M.P. Veteran's Association, with the subheading "The North West Mounted Police Great Favorites of the Indian Poetess, Pauline Johnson. How She Secured a Scalp. Origin of 'The Riders of the Plains,'" provides an interesting snapshot of Johnson's public persona. *Scarlet and Gold*, 14 (1932), unpaginated.

[39] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 45.

As one whose understanding of Western Canadian culture is based on the existing 'frontier' literature (Munday's only visit to a prairie city coincided with a public pow-wow), her experience at The Pas and Cumberland House conflicted with the romanticized version of native life she held. S. Elizabeth Bird has noted that the desire of nineteenth-century white audiences to see "traditional clothing and quiet nobility" exhibited by native people persisted well into the twentieth century and resulted in exaggerated, negative reactions to the reality when it was confronted.[40] By positioning herself surrounded by a selection of indigenous elements Munday simply furnishes her text with the romantic vision she could not locate in her experience of the North.

While it is impossible at this time to form any conclusions about the body of work from which the images in *A Mounty's Wife* were selected, the references to photographic practice in the book, that "It was necessary to put dark covers over the blinds to enable us to sleep at night," that "I have taken pictures at all hours of the twenty-four," or that "[constable] Alecsen vows to this

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[40] S. Elizabeth Bird, introduction to *Dressing In Feathers*, 4.

day that I was the first into the tent so that I might take a photograph of the frozen man" found in the bush, do revolve around Munday's experience of Northern detachment life.

Quite apart from women authors or characters, the image of the Mounted Police officers serving in the North frequently displayed a mix of southern urban and Northern indigenous clothing styles. In his history of the R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. uniform and equipment, James Boulton notes that, "[m]embers on duty in Northern Detachments had always used native clothing wherever necessary, and in general, considerable latitude was permitted."[41] Indeed, Sergeant Munday appears in a photograph entitled *Walter And Major On Their Return From A 1400 Mile Trip To Churchill* (Figure 7) in just such an outfit. In a full-length single portrait, he stands surrounded by bush and snow covered ground. Wearing a non-issue fur coat, Klondike style fur cap and moccasins, he holds a whip in his hand, engaging the viewer, the Mundays' pet dog by his

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[41] Both the concern with image and power of images is evinced by Boulton's statement that, "[m]embers of the Fort Smith Sub-Division ...[wore] native footwear with embroidered and beaded designs, and would have continued to do so until photographs taken in the Spring of 1958 were circulated, showing all members of the detachment wearing native moccasins" (*Uniforms*, 394).

(Figure 7) Walter and Major on their Return from a 1400 Mile Trip to Churchill, undated. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in *A Mounty's Wife*, opposite pg. 76

side.[42] While Sergeant Munday stands inactive, the caption, by describing the scene as the end of an arduous trip, places Sergeant Munday well within the bounds of the archetypal 'mountie'.

These precedents, the phenomenon of the celebrity Indian, the images of women authors who had gone before and her position as a 'mountie's' wife, paved the way for Munday to present herself in native dress as a viable alternative. In addition, Munday's identification as a "Mounty's Wife" allowed her the possibility of appropriating a veneer of that image. Moreover, in assuming the position as the protagonist of the story, she uses it to project an image of competence in order to command the necessary authority on the North.

The latter half of the book is devoted to recollections of Munday's 1922-24 stay at Chesterfield Inlet. At this point the remoteness of location and harshness of the climate are used to heighten the drama of her experience. Although the Inlet had been part of the Fullerton detachment patrols since 1903, and boasted a

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[42] Boulton, Uniforms, 158-59. The force experimented with buffalo, lambskin, calfskin and racoon coats of various styles over the decades. Sergeant Munday's coat does not resemble any official design. (Ibid. 89, 115.)

Roman Catholic mission and trading post since 1912, she portrays the region as "almost eternal ice and snow ... a land harried day and night by gales which are so savage I sometimes felt as if they had come straight from the devil himself."[43]

Following this description of the hostile landscape is her estimation of the people who inhabit it. The portraits of Inuit at Chesterfield are both written and visual. The first appearance of Inuit in the book is a written description. Here Munday recalls seeing "... my first Esquimos" at Lake Harbour, Baffin Island; people she describes as "very friendly, poor souls, but, oh, so like animals!".[44] Moreover, deprivation and ignorance

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[43] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 135.

[44] Ibid., 134. In his book *The Native Races of the Empire*, Sir Godfrey Lagden includes an example of the contemporary theory that extreme temperatures foster extreme temperaments:"The farther south these [North American] aborigines penetrated, the higher was their civilisation, which was to be expected as their environment in the south was far more favourable than that of the far north. The Esquimaux remain the most primitive of all, and have changed the least during the passing of the centuries."(167) Articles in the popular press of her time carried editorials and serials with such titles as "Why Eskimos Can't Understand Christianity ... Prefer Hell to Heaven, Can't Conceive of a Kind God, and Have Many Customs That Outrage Civilized People" (untitled dated 1936 by American Weekly, Inc. [Provincial Archives of Alberta, Ernest Brown Collection, 74.173/ 457, 453, speeches and notes by Ernest Brown, undated]).

characterize her recollection of the Inuit lifestyle at Chesterfield. Of her experience in general she writes, "They always wanted to know all about everything, and the hardest thing I ever attempted was to try and explain things to them. They know so little and have so little in the country with which to make comparisons."[45]

This sense of cultural superiority is, again, in conflict with a photographic image inserted in the narrative. This next image is a double portrait of Munday and her husband appended by a caption which reads *Chesterfield. Ourselves in Esquimo Clothes* (Figure 8). This time, the Mundays are dressed in the traditional heavy outer parkas or quliktaq of the Qaernirmiut people who lived around the Inlet.[46] Their bodies fill almost the entire frame of the photograph leaving only glimpses of white snow and sky visible around them. They stand motionless, Munday smiling, eyes locked on the camera. Each is dressed from head to toe in Inuit clothing:

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[45] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 147.

[46] The Qaernirmiut traditional outer parka is notable for its pattern of light and dark panels and lengths of fur 'fringe' attached at the shoulder of the women's suit. (Judy Hall, Jill Oakes, Sally Qimmiu'naaq Wedster, *Sanatujut: Pride in Women's Work* [Hull: Museum of Civilization, 1994], 41.)

Sergeant Munday in the men's monochromatic parka, and Munday in the women's garment with its inserts of white caribou fur and full hood. In addition, they sport Inuit kamiks, leggings and mitts. The only subject of the photograph, they seem to be willingly on display, showing themselves in costume for the record.

The very fact of the double portrait and similar pose invites comparison to the frontispiece image. Moreover, the caption stands as explanation of its function. The Mundays are, in effect, dressed 'as'--or "in"--the guise of Inuit. Having established her southern urban image as the voice of the narrative in her earlier photograph, the Mundays' appearance in indigenous clothes has the feel of a souvenir. Facing the lens and presenting the full length of their bodies to the gaze of the viewer, she displays her assumed Inuit identity as authentication of her story. More than just a documentation of the lived experience, the photograph positions the Mundays comfortably in accord with the native culture while the corresponding written descriptions which literally surround the image in the book, counter its message. Although there is an intimation of pride in being pictured in Inuit clothes, Munday's overall assessment of the traditions she appropriates is negative.

(Figure 8) Ourselves in Esquimo Clothes, no date. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in *A Mounty's Wife*, opposite pg. 104

Moreover, in the pages following the photograph Munday gives evidence of the difficultly she experienced in accepting the clothing as part of her daily routine. She writes:

> Oh the preparations necessary to go for even a fifteen-minute walk in the winter! The house clothes to come off and deerskins to go on ... The hauling, pushing and shoving to get into the koo-le-tang [sic] and out of it again was maddening, and, oh, the condition of my hair ... [everyday] I stormed and talked myself into and out of my clothes. All the time I kept wriggling my face to keep it from freezing.[47]

Barbara Kelcey has suggested that Munday's habit of switching from Inuit clothing to her southern clothing indoors indicates a need to retain her "cultural and feminine identity" at home.[48] There is indeed proof that Munday does differentiate between her lifestyle inside and outside her home at Chesterfield. She describes the style of the quliktaq as "almost the same for the men and women," and notes the restrictions of the climate on her dress code. In a chapter entitled "Our First Winter On Hudson Bay," Munday writes, "I suppose I did look a bit of a frump ... but I was so often a block of ice that I could not wear lighter and more attractive clothes." Amongst the

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[47] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 141.

[48] Kelcey, "Jingo Belles," 45.

white community she portrays herself as the lone symbol of femininity, recalling the constables who "on feast days" pleaded with her to "put on your silk stockings and satin pumps to-night, and perhaps your silk frock, if it isn't too cold," at once positioning herself as the appropriate site of their desire and elevating her own status.[49]

Munday's appropriation of native identity continues in the image entitled *Myself and Esquimo Woman* (Figure 9). Inserted only slightly later in the narrative, it pictures Munday herself, hair in long braids, dressed in the elaborately decorated amautik of the Qaernirmiut tradition. In yet another double portrait she stands beside an Inuit woman in similar dress.[50] Again the dimensions of their bodies, shown at three-quarter length, fill most of the picture frame. Both face the viewer with hands passively at their sides, the beaded designs of the

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[49] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 151. Barbara Kelcey's statistics on white women in the North note the presence of a Mrs. Harry Ford, an H.B.C. man's wife, at Chesterfield Inlet in 1923. Munday's repeated insistence that she was the first and only white woman in the community may indicate an attempt to heighten the drama of isolation. (Kelcey, Jingo Belles, 26.)

[50] Contact between the Aivilingmiut and Qaernirmiut peoples, increased during whaling, resulted in a blending of clothing styles. Trade goods such as glass beads also facilitated style changes. Hall, Oakes, Webster, *Sanatujut*, 91.

(Figure 9) Myself and Esquimo Woman, 1922-1924. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, opposite pg. 148.

amautit fronts clearly on display.

The intricately beaded amautit worn by the women have long constituted a sort of nexus of fascination for both Inuit and non-Inuit communities. The function they serve in Munday's photograph is, however, vastly different from the place they hold in the Native culture. In addition to the quality of execution, use of colour and complex designs, the parkas were highly valued in Eastern Arctic cultures as indicators of skill and creativity. Moreover, through a unique visual language, they represented the history and spiritual elements of Qaernirmiut and Aivilingmiut cultures. Bernadette Driscoll, along with other researchers and informed by contemporary Inuit seamstresses, has suggested that the form and linguistic derivation of design elements of the garments point to "functional and symbolic reference[s], within Inuit society, to woman's maternal role."[51] Besides the amaut, or hood, used to carry infants, the kiniq or scalloped front apron is a visual reference to the uterus and the carrying of children before birth.

The beadwork on the amautik follows a set of fairly

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[51] Bernadette Driscoll, "Sapangat: Inuit Beadwork in the Canadian Arctic," *Expedition* 26, no. 2 (1984):42.

rigid conventions including alternating light and dark coloured bands of geometric shapes placed at the wrist, upper shoulder and waist. Intended as reiterations of traditional body tattooing in placement, technique and appearance, these suggest that the religious significance attached to tattooing is extended to this beadwork. The structure of the amaut itself and of the chest panels contains the more personalized designs but do have metaphoric significance; the long panel of beadwork down the amaut has reference to animal, perhaps caribou, vertebrae and the chest panels to nurturing.[52]

Although Munday notes the representational images sometimes included the quality of manufacture and some cursory ideas of the status and family lineage indicated by the designs, her description of the function of the traditional amautik does not demonstrate any deeper understanding of the Inuit culture than her own cultural reference points provide. She recalls that,

> The beautifully beaded suits which some of the women wear are very often handed down from mother to daughter .... The patterns in the bead-work are of articles which they use, such as their lamps, knives,

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[52] Bernadette Driscoll, "Pretending to be Caribou," in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart; Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1987), 200.

> etc., and the teeth of caribou are fastened on the fringes of the clothing, the more teeth the better, as it shows the husband to be a mighty hunter.[53]

Beyond this acknowledgement, however, the rest of her remarks are disparaging. In the following pages she explains that "[Inuit] also have certain habits in which they so exactly resemble animals, most embarrassing to a white woman when out among them ... until they learn that certain rules must be kept."[54]

The use of the double portrait here is significant for another reason. Whereas Munday uses the format in earlier photographs to establish social position by picturing herself, quite literally, as the 'mountie's' wife here she stands beside an Inuit woman. Essentialized by the caption identifying her only by gender and ethnic identity, the *Esquimo woman* in Munday's photograph is silenced within the context of the representation. She stands as both a foil and authentication for Munday's image but not as an individual in herself. In the language of the title she is presented as the nameless other against whom Munday is portrayed, not as the wife in this composition, but as a white woman. Of further relevance to

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[53] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 172.

[54] Ibid., 173.

this image are the passages concerning Munday's position as well as the model of Western femininity in the Northern community.

Helen Buss has discussed the pattern, in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Canadian women's writing, of identity construction through the description of others. Buss argues that in several works of this period, women's texts employ a "doubled discourse", a strategy that allows for the circumvention of social restrictions in telling their whole experience. Using Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It In The Bush* as an example, Buss suggests that the author pairs herself with other characters in order to tell the double story of "herself as her husband's wife and that of herself as subject of her own story."[55]

Certainly, in establishing her suitability to Northern life, Munday pairs herself with other people at various points in the narrative. On a winter trip out from The Pas she explains that, while travelling with a constable, a white woman neighbour and a Native guide, she drove her own dogs and sled, ran twenty miles in a day and arrived an hour before the others. In another episode she remembers "hunting a great deal with the boys and trapping

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[55] Helen Buss, *Mapping Ourselves*, 93.

with an Indian ... [securing] enough rabbits for a rabbit-skin robe, dried and braided in the Indian manner." In another she recalls helping a new constable investigate the case of a missing trapper by suggesting "that he should feel the ashes of the old fire .... at the same time I examined the water-hole ... so I knew the man was only out at his trap-line."[56]

As the wife of a R.N.W.M.P. sergeant she was obligated by social convention to maintain a position of middle-class femininity appropriate to that station. Barbara Kelcey's work on the early-twentieth-century history of white women in the Northwest Territories suggests that most who travelled from the South brought with them notions of cultural superiority and a belief that they constituted a sort of 'outpost' of the coming EuroCanadian customs and values. Munday gives plenty of indication that she upholds such beliefs, recalling at various points in her narrative that,

> A few of the natives ... knew the Lord's Prayer. Before I left I gathered them together and had a little talk with them. They promised to remember what they knew and to endeavour to practise it until one of our missionaries could go among them.
>
> It is surely time we took thought for our Northern

[56] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 82-3, 95, 93.

> inheritance, and especially to these native people, they who have pluckily come through so many generations, fighting every day and all day just to live.
>
> I consider that [the Inuit] will prove a very valuable asset to us in the years to come, since, with the Hudson Bay Railway completed, there will be many more exploration parties going further North in search of the many minerals. [57]

Understandably, her strategy is complex; in negotiating the characterizations of Edwardian womanhood and Northern adventurer, Munday aligns herself with both standards of European femininity and aspects of Inuit culture. At once, she manages to position herself as the "only white woman ever to live at Chesterfield," and a model of EuroCanadian femininity in the best colonialist tradition.[58] The falsity of this claim points to Munday's need to portray her life in more dramatic terms. Not only did Moodie live at the Fullerton detachment only a few kilometres across the inlet years earlier but records show that the H.B.C. trader's wife, a Mrs. Ford, lived at Chesterfield Inlet from 1923; neither is acknowledged in the book.[59]

To emphasize her accomplishments, Munday claims to

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[57] Ibid., 164, 177, 178.

[58] Ibid., 15.

have been loved by Inuit who assure her that the inevitable departure of white "women-folk" was "like taking a piece of their lives away."[60] Indeed, she presents herself as a kind of instructor on moral behaviour to the Native people she encounters. A case in point is her treatment and surrogate motherhood of a "half-breed" Inuit boy from the community hired by the couple to carry out household chores. As well as being featured in a textual description of their relationship, "Scotty" appears in a photograph on the same page as Munday's *Myself and Esquimo Woman*. In this photograph, entitled *Chesterfield Esquimos* (Figure 10), a group of five Inuit men stand beside each other facing the camera, dressed in heavy outer parkas. Three of the five hold their hands folded somewhat awkwardly in front of them. The image quality falls below the standards of the other reproductions; the two figures on the ends of the group are truncated by the picture's edge and two faces show evidence of heavy handed retouching. Although he is included with the group under the anonymous title, a sidebar notes that one of the subjects is the boy "Scotty."

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[59] Kelcey, "Jingo Belles," 26.

[60] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 150.

(Figure 10) Chesterfield Esquimos. The Boy is "Scotty," 1922-1924. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, opposite pg. 148

Once his identity is revealed, certain elements of Munday's story inform the interpretation of his portrait. Visibly younger than the other men, he is the only one with short hair and what appears to be an obliging smile on his face. In her text, Munday recalls that "Scotty was a daily joy to me ... but he always wanted my assurance for anything before he would do it and called me 'mother.'"[61] In a passage that invokes Tomas' work on the captive eighteenth-century Andamese Islander, she recalls that "[w]e made [Scotty] wear white man's clothes with which we provided him, and we also had a room for him and a real bed, none of which he ever had before. The first day we took him we told him he must have a bath.[62]

In this passage she not only asserts a sense of moral superiority, but also confirms her belief in the power of clothes a signifier of identity. Although Munday insists that "white man's clothes" will endue Scotty with EuroCanadian standards, she continues to portray herself in association with elements of Inuit culture. In the final self-portrait, entitled *Chesterfield. Myself At The Entrance Of An Igloo* (Figure 11), Munday kneels beside a

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[61] Ibid., 149.

[62] Ibid., 148.

snow structure, smiling at the viewer, her arm around a dog. The heavy outer parka she wears is of indeterminate style; while its pattern of dark and light fur indicates a traditional Caribou design, the unusual front closure and glimpse of southern clothes underneath signal a more hybrid origin. Visible as well is a pair of sunglasses pushed up on her head and, to her right, an empty bag, presumably of sugar, marked with the word "granulated," and pressed upside down into the snow.

The inclusion of non-traditional articles in this photograph emphasizes two things: first, the exclusion of such signifiers from the earlier self-portraits and second, the difference in approach taken to the portraits of Inuit. In addition to the portrait *Chesterfield Esquimos* which includes "Scotty," three photographs, entitled *Chesterfield Esquimos. Summer Camp*, (Figure 12) *Esquimos At Chesterfield* (Figure 13) and *Chesterfield. Natives, Wearing Goggles, with a Sailing Sledge*, (Figure 14), are composed as group portraits of local Inuit. The placement of the latter two within chapters entitled "Birds and Natives" and "Taboos of the Esquimos," both predominantly descriptive rather than narrative in structure, combined with captions identifying the subjects by ethnic affiliation and activities, emphasizes the

(Figure 11) Myself at the Entrance of an Igloo, 1922-1924. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, opposite pg. 168

(Figure 12) Chesterfield. Esquimos Summer Camp, 1922-1924. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, opposite pg. 156

(Figure 13) Esquimos at Chesterfield, 1922-1924. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, opposite pg. 178

(Figure 14) Natives, Wearing Goggles, with a Sailing Sledge,1922-1924. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in A Mounty's Wife, opposite pg. 184

ethnographic overtone of the photographs. They are "esquimos" and "natives," "wearing goggles," drying fish, sitting outside a summer tent or standing beside a winter sledge. The effect of such a treatment becomes more apparent when the viewer discovers the identity of the figure second from the right in Munday's *Natives Wearing Goggles*: it is "Scotty." By framing the image as a distant group portrait and appending it with such descriptive terminology, Munday shifts the meaning of the photograph from personal to ethnographic portrait.

This marked difference in presentation of herself as opposed to Inuit sitters indicates that, rather than align herself with Inuit culture as it then stood, Munday was after something else. More likely her final self-portrait is a visual reiteration of a theme that runs through the narrative: suitability and competence in the North. It is no accident that one component of her claim is a love and unique ability with the dogs of the North. Early in the book she recalls that,

> One day when the guide came in I had this dog in the kitchen eating out of my hand. The guide yelled that he would bite me and backed quickly out ... but Walter very soon began driving the dogs himself when he learned that any amount of petting did not harm them, but, on the contrary, made them better dogs. He afterwards became the best dog driver in the

country.[63]

Hardly likely for relative newcomers to the North, Munday's exaggerated claim signals an attempt at myth making. Indeed, as Keith Walden has observed, the contention that "The police ... knew how to win the trust and affection of their dogs and horses" when others did not was an oft repeated element of the fictional 'mountie's' mystique.[64]

There is a good possibility that Munday, in this image, was attempting to portray herself in the same light. She clearly patterned her book after the volumes of heroic narratives of adventurers and 'mounties' whose competence at survival was their ticket to credibility. The initial claim to a Northern sensibility can be traced to similar declarations in several of the publications with which she acknowledges familiarity. Rasmussen claims that "some portion of Eskimo blood" qualifies him for Northern research; others declare a longing for the stillness and purity or, conversely, the adventure of the North.[65] Of her first posting in what she describes as a

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[63] Ibid., 35.

[64] Walden, *Visions of Order*, 61.

[65] Knud Rasmussen, Introduction to *Across Arctic*

Northern setting, Munday confesses:

> I knew after that first month that I was to love the Northern wilderness, every tree, rock, stream, and lake, every leaf and flower, love it in all its moods, and that never again would I care for the life of cities; that there in the solitude of the forests only could I be truly happy.[66]

Munday's book shows the influence of contemporary political, social and literary context in its narrative structure. The portraits bear the mark of complex ideologies which extend far outside their frames. Significantly, while *A Mounty's Wife* must be seen as an addition to the wide field of Northern memoirs, it must also be acknowledged for the influence it had on forthcoming work. Memoirs written by women in similar positions *God's Galloping Girl* (1979) by Monica Storr, based on experiences as a missionary's wife in the 1920's and *I Was No Lady* (1959), by Jean Godsell, about life in the 1930's as an H.B.C. man's wife, not only uphold many of the patterns and tropes found in Munday's work but include photographic portraits of the authors in indigenous dress.[67]

America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), vi.

[66] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, 29.

[67] Godsell's memoir includes a photographic portrait

In addition to these comparable memoirs is the brief sketch entitled "A 'Mountie's' Wife in the Far North" from the *Scarlet and Gold* periodical of 1934. In it, author Mary Tidd wrote of her role in Aklavik:

> It may be a monotonous, and a lonely world. But it is our world, and it revolves around us. Our Indians come to us with their births and deaths, with their joys and sorrows. They look to Mr. and Mrs. Government to set them right. It is a responsibility, yes, but it is a wonderful thing to watch a world grow.[68]

Here the role of 'mountie's wife' is made synonymous with the position of authority, moral cultural and legal, and all are claimed unproblematically by Tidd.

This notion is detectable too in Munday's work. Her double-edged compassion for the state of native peoples and bleakness of landscape is countered by her prescription of European culture as salvation. Munday's work emerges from a web of social and artistic discourses whose borders blur and implicate each other in a myriad of ways. Her repeated efforts at appropriation of native cultural expression completes her appropriation and

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of the couple being adopted by Blackfoot chief Calf Robe (undated) in a public ceremony. (Jean Godsell, *I Was No Lady ... I Followed the Call of the Wild* [Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959], facing 113.

[68] Mary Tidd, "A Mountie's Wife in the Far North," *Scarlet and Gold* 16 (1935): 36.

subsequent taming of a non-Western subject through controlled visualization.[69]

The inclusion of the portraits within the landscape and human culture of the North is more than an simple attempt to document her presence at Chesterfield; it is a move to assert their dominant presence in the region. Using the identifying elements of composition, captioning and clothing, Munday's photographs are much more complex. *A Mounty's Wife* claims a place for its author alongside, and not on the margins of, the forces at work in 'opening' the North. The design of this niche speaks volumes not only about the role of white women in the region but about the place of such publications in the social and political context of the time.

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[69] Francis Wey, in what he calls "les conquêtes pacifiques" or the peaceful conquest of the Orient by nineteenth-century Europeans, discusses the production of manipulated views of various Eastern cultures. Suren Lalvani points to such an instance as the nineteenth-century phenomenon in which the production and collection of photographic images of non-Western (women) was a popular means of "possessing" or controlling a vision of exotica. Both are included in Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 70-9.

Chapter 2 Looking Outward: Geraldine Moodie and the Faces of the North

> [at Fullerton] Comer ... was more active than ever .... Low took a number of excellent photographs .... Bernier possessed a camera. Mackean took snapshots .... Moodie also took photographs and ... his wife produced some very delicate portraits of Eskimos.
>
> Gillies Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*

This excerpt from Gillies Ross's 1984 edition of the diaries of George Comer reiterates a common assessment of the work Geraldine Moodie produced during the 1904-06 expedition of the *Arctic*.[1] While her contribution to the representation of the Canadian North is substantial, the place given to her images within the canon of Northern photography has remained on the periphery.[2] In comparison to work produced for 'official' scientific and government purposes, Moodie's Fullerton work, much of which has come

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[1] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay 1903-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 186, n.9.

[2] Moodie also made photographs at Churchill, her subsequent posting. Mostly candid images of Inuit activities and landscapes of the surrounding area, many are not signed; those that have been attributed are held at the Northwest Territorial Archives, R.C.M.P. Museum and in private collections. Besides two line drawings based on Moodie photographs reproduced in *The Hudson Bay Route: A Compilation of Facts with Conclusions by J.A.J. Mckenna* (Department of the Interior. Ottawa: Government Print Bureau, 1908) they are not widely circulated. (Donny White, interview *by telephone* by author 2 September, 1997.)

to define her photographic practice, originated from outside the institutional structure. Derived from a different set of premises than that of her contemporaries in the North, it has, until recently, remained marginalized.

Two images, *Iwilik Women* and *Inuit Widow with Children*, are rich examples of her work from this period. Both are portraits of local Inuit, posed in small, enclosed studio settings that invoke a sense of orderly domestic space yet show a clear emphasis on the ethnic identities of the sitters. In this respect they are typical of Moodie's Fullerton work. Many of these are striking images that demonstrate attention to both subject and aesthetics not often visible in Northern photographic practices from early this century. But Moodie brought to bear on her work experience and influences rarely found in such work.

Although she was an established professional photographer by the time she travelled north in 1904 Moodie joined the expedition in the capacity of an officer's wife; no mention of her candidacy for the job of expedition photographer is recorded.[3] While indeed excluded

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[3] Supt. Moodie's official report notes that, on departing Quebec on September 17, 1904, the *Arctic* "had on

from the official duties in the Artic, she was sufficiently invested in the profession of photography to be aware of the role of gender in the production and dissemination of imagery. Archivists at the National Archives of Canada, have suggested that Moodie produced the photographs as much for submission to government officials, R.N.W.M.P. headquarters in Ottawa, the Department of Marine and Fisheries and eventually the prime minister's office, as for private use.[4]

Recent interest in her as a historical person and photographer has, however, brought her back into the public arena. Accordingly, a survey of her photographs held in the various collections at the National Archives and R.C.M.P. Museum may alert one to differences between Moodie's work and that of other photographers in Fullerton and across the North at that time. Her use of symmetry, rhythm and close framing in her portraits conveys a sense

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board in addition to Capt. Bernier, sailing master, officers and ship's company, Insp. Pelletier, S.Sgt. Hayne, 2 corporals, 6 constables of the Royal North-west Mounted Police, Mr. Vanasse, historian, Mr. Mckean, photographer, and Mr. A.D. Moodie, secretary." (Supt. J.D. Moodie, "Report Of Superintendent J.D. Moodie, Hudson Bay." *Sessional Paper* No. 28, 1906, 3.)

[4] Jim Burant *et al.*, "To Photograph The Artic Frontier Part VI," *The Archivist* 6, vol. 1 (1978): 3.

of intimacy and tranquillity.[5] This approach, to her portraits of Native people specifically, though in some instances relatively unique for its time, has been discussed as the product of a particularly careful and sensitive approach; an argument that, left unexamined, signals a biased intellectual framework into which Moodie's images have been drawn upon in the process of being 'rediscovered.' In comments that "Moodie's [portraits Plains Cree and Thirst Dance] contained an empathy and respect for her subjects less evident in the work of some of her male colleagues," that "her sensitivity to the Inuit people and appreciation for their lifestyle is evident in [her] images," or that "Moodie took much more care with her portraits than her predecessors or [official expedition photographer] MacKean" risk defining Moodie's practice as characteristically feminine traits - intuitive, detail-

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[5] Two main collections are held at the NAC. A collection of individually titled images under acc. 1966-094 are a selection of views, Cree portraits and ceremonies from Moodie's Battleford days. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Collection, from which the two images discussed here were taken, acc. 1976-243, comprises Inuit portraits with a small number of outdoor views of the Fullerton area. This collection was copied for the R.C.M.P. historical section. The Rodney Howse collection acc. 1990-511 has been deaccessioned from the archives; it consists of portraits and photographs of some of the activities of Inuit people at Churchill and Fullerton.

oriented methods--in lieu of a more critical investigation of that category and, hence, of her work.[6]

Indeed, many of Moodie's Fullerton photographs are visually different from those of other photographers working in the same region, however, that difference must be demystified and investigated as a product of specific influences. This chapter, by focusing on a selection of Moodie's Fullerton portraits, attempts to examine Moodie's photographic practice in terms of the traditions and discourses in which she worked; the boundaries of professionalism, gender and institutional practices, as significant in placing Moodie in the North, defining her participation in the Northern community and the range of possibilities for her as an unofficial yet professional photographer.

In the first portrait, *Iwilik Women, Hudson's Bay 1904-05* (Figure 15), the three women of the title stand within close proximity to each other, in an enclosed studio setting, against a plain, white canvas backdrop. A

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[6] The excerpts are quoted in, respectively: Susan Close, "Framing Identity: Photographs by Mattie Gunterman and Geraldine Moodie" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1995), 177; Lily Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*, 53; Donny White, "Geraldine Moodie: A Biographical Sketch," *Women Together Magazine* (Feburary 1993): 15; Burant *et al.*, "To Photograph The Arctic Frontier Part VI," *The Archivist* 5, vol. 1 (1978): 2.

diffused light floods the image with a unifying mid-tone. Each is dressed in the amautik of the Caribou people, the pale, scraped skin facing out and setting off the bands of detailed beadwork and cloth panels that grace the chest, shoulders and edges of each garment.[7] The woman at the centre of the group stands the tallest of the three. Her back is turned to the camera to reveal the full length of her long hood, her face in profile giving just an indication of her beaded stroud hairsticks.

The women to her left and right are of similar height, their hair dressed in braids knotted under each ear. Posed frontally, they engage the viewer, their faces showing, variously mild apprehension and pleasant acceptance. Traditional rhythmic designs worked into their chest panels extend the geometric patterns across the image. The three figures are arranged within a rudimentary, clearly hand-cut oval frame the contours of which echoes the outline of the group and frames it

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[7] Atigi, in Eastern Arctic dialect is the word for the women's inner parka. The terms amautik (singular) or amautit (plural) refers to the same garment with a large hood or amaut used for carrying infants is attached, enlarged or untied from a rolled position. Driscoll, The Spirit Sings, 182-6; Driscoll, Sapangat,43-5; Jillian E. Oakes, *Copper and Caribou Inuit Skin Clothing Production*, Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series Paper No. 118 (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), 98.

(Figure 15) Iwilik Women, Hudson's Bay, 1904-05. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. National Archives of Canada, C-089347

tightly within a shallow space.

The second photograph, *Inuit Widow with Children* (Figure 16), constitutes a variation on a recurring theme of Moodie's Fullerton work: the family. A young girl and boy stand on either side of an adult woman, the widow of the title. Again, they stand in an enclosed studio. A definable light source beyond the left edge of the image throws a sharper shadow across the set, picking out each surface from the carpet of furs and coarse dark cloth of the backdrop to the rougher, more sombre design of the traditional outer parkas (quliktaq) worn by all three. They are posed frontally and arranged in a triangular composition centred within the full rectangular frame. The eye is drawn first to the central figure, the 'mother', who stands tallest in a plain white outer parka with toggles on the belt (qaksungaut) that crosses her chest.[8] The children on either side are of comparable height but clothed in darker skin parkas. The tone of the woman's suit is echoed in the three faces, the muffs (pualuk) that each child carries and the highlights of the creased fur under their feet, further emphasizing the triangular

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[8] All spellings, except given names, are taken from Aivilingmiut Inuit Language (Laval: Association Inuksiutiit katimajiit, Université Laval, 1976).

(Figure 16) Inuit Widow with Children, Hudson's Bay, 1906. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. National Archives of Canada, C-089351

shape.

As representations of the North, these portraits demonstrate a very narrow focus; in contrast to the attention paid to external climatic conditions in descriptions of the region, these portraits are set in an enclosed studio and concentrate on the static figures of the sitters. The varied attitudes of the women in the first photograph, including multiple viewing angles, front, back, profile, recall an ethnographic interest in showing as much detail of the sitters, clothing and adornments of the Inuit culture. In this respect Moodie's photograph is not too far from the pervasive "type" imagery in which one member of an ethnic group is offered as a representation of the whole, a notion supported by the photograph's title. Similarly to Moodie's *Iwilik Women, Inuit Widow with Children* invokes both elements of the exotic and of a familiar domestic space; the arrangement of sitters is indicative of a traditional Western family structure. The stable triangular composition of the three figures, with the 'mother' forming the apex and the children in close proximity, is reminiscent of the portrayal of motherhood in European

artistic production.[9]

What meets the uninitiated Southern eye are photographs with aesthetically pleasing portraits of intimate groupings of attractive, exotic Inuit; such imagery has been taken up and naturalized as representative of Eastern Arctic experience around the turn of the century. Many more factors are included, however. Linda Nochlin's call for examination of photographs at the level of discourse is a useful guideline for the investigation of Moodie's hybrid approach evident in these portraits:

> What is rarely raised is the crucial question of how photography functions as an object of aesthetic discourse--and in the service of what interests .... one may ask just how "aesthetic" the objects of the photographer's art actually are, just as we may question how transparent, objective, and veracious "documentary" photographs are.[10]

The question of whether Moodie's Fullerton portraits were produced as ethnographic studies, studio portraits or souvenirs is complex. The criteria used in determining the answer includes an understanding of the relationship

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[9] From the madonnas of the Renaissance to the 'natural' family of eighteenth-century French painting, the subject and composition are well entrenched in European visual cultures.

[10] Linda Nochlin, foreword to *Photography At The Dock*, xiv.

between photographer and sitters and the intended audience, each of these being shaped by issues of gender, professionalism and the institutional framework.

As in the case of Munday, Moodie's access to the North was through her husband's career with the R.N.W.M.P. She travelled north in 1904 aboard the *Arctic* with a ship's company, ten members of 'M' division to restaff the detachment and her husband, Superintendent J.D. Moodie on the second expedition to the west coast of Hudson Bay to re-supply the recently established post at Fullerton. Moodie, her husband, the complement of officers and ship's crew including Captain Bernier, spent two years at the community approximately sixty miles to the northeast of Chesterfield Inlet.[11] Wintering alongside the *Arctic* was the American whaling vessel *Era*, commanded by Captain George Comer

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[11] In 1903 two N.W.M.P. posts were established in the Western Arctic, at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson. (Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II*, 18.) The Fullerton detachment was first established that same year; quarters were refurbished for Superintendent Moodie and his family in 1904. (Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 147 n.3.) The detachment relocated to Churchill after 1905 to follow growing population. (William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia. Press, 1985], 100.) Moodie accompanied her husband to that post and continued to photograph there.

The opportunity for Moodie to travel North was provided by a rare point of flexibility in R.N.W.M.P. policy afforded officers of high rank. As commanding officer, Superintendent Moodie was able to request that his family members join him; the couple's son Alex was allowed to enlist as a special constable. But there seems to have been no acknowledgement of Moodie's professional qualifications.[12] The Department of Marine and Fisheries was petitioned by several parties in support of various candidates including a Professor J.A. Lajeunesse on behalf of the well-known photographer William J. Topley, and a Senator William Ross in support of his protege Frank MacKean.[13] Nova Scotian painter and photographer Mackean was eventually appointed but, by most accounts, was more competent with the graphic medium.[14]

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[12] It was during the 1903 expedition that then Major Moodie requested that his wife join him and that one of his sons enlist as a special constable. (Supt. Moodie, communication to Comptroller White, 9 December, 1903 [NAC RG 18, vol. 281 file 716, part 1], 6, quoted in Ross, *An Arctic Whaling diary*, 147 n.2.). The Arctic's official manifest lists Alex Moodie as secretary, Mackean as photographer and Fabien Vanasse as historian. (J.D. Moodie, *Report of Superintendent J.D. Moodie on Service in Hudson Bay*: Per SS. *Arctic*, 1904-5 in Part IV *Sessional Paper* No. 28 A. [1906].)

[13] Burant *et al.*, *Robert Flaherty Photographer/ Filmmaker: The Inuit 1910-1922* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1980), 78.

[14] Burant *et al.*, "To Photograph The Artic Frontier Part

A year into the expedition, a dissatisfied Superintendent Moodie made an unsuccessful recommendation to the sponsoring Department of Marine and Fisheries that his wife take over the duties of official photographer from Frank Mackean.[15] While no clear reasoning for the denial has surfaced, a few solidly attributed Mackean photographs remain as examples of his official documentation. Most show an emphasis on topographical views directly related to official expedition business.[16] Mackean's *Prefontaine Harbour* (Figure 17), for instance, pictures an area on Coats Island (southeast of Southampton Island) described in official reports as, "a harbour ... where a good sized river empties into it [and t]he land rises to a considerable height with good flat benches around the bay ... covered with grass ... " which garnered

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VI," *The Archivist* 5, vol. 1 (1978):2.

[15] Supt. Moodie protested that "... the extent of [Mackean's] knowledge of a camera is limited to pressing a button and trusting to luck to get something on the plate." Ibid. Moodie's complaint may be have been justified: almost nothing of Mackean's work seems to have survived and what has is of questionable technical quality.

[16] There are some reports that Mackean made photographs of Inuit in group portraits and experimented with indoor settings but, with the exception of one image occasionally attributed to both and Comer, no such prints circulate. Burant *et al.* "To Photograph the Arctic Frontier," *Robert Flaherty Photographer /Filmmaker*, 79; Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 164.

attention from Supt. Moodie as one potentially useful for anchorage for patrols. The harbour's name is interesting too for what it says about the ideological basis of the expedition. Superintendent Moodie reportedly, upon landing July 14, 1905, "in full uniform and surrounded by his officers, declared ... [that the land] would bear the name of Prefontaine Bay in honour of ... Minister of Marine and Fisheries." In so doing, he carried on the centuries old tradition of renaming, and so integrating the Northern landscape into the Southern consciousness.[17]

Reports of the lobbying and networking behind the hiring of official expedition photographers for the *Neptune* and *Arctic* voyages hint at the political nature of the process. If Moodie indeed sought the position, her selection would have required approval from the ranks of

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[17] Yoland Dorion-Robitaille, *Captain J.E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty In the Arctic* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 43. Bernier later reported that, in addition to the harbour, "the headland was named Cape Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the island on the west side of the entrance,White Island, after Colonel White, Comptroller of the Mounted Police." (Capt J.E., Bernier *Arctic Islands*, 330.) An indication that the Inuit were familiar with the area is found in Supt. Moodie's report that on entering the harbour "[f]our natives came out from the island at the entrance,in kyaks (sic), and were taken on board," where they were able to answer questions about freeze up conditions. This renaming overlaid the Inuit definition of the area " (Report of Superintendent J.D. Moodie," *Sessional Paper No. 28*, Hudson Bay, 1906, 4.)

(Figure 17) Prefontaine Harbour, 1904-06. Photo by Frank Douglas MacKean. National Archives of Canada, PA-197938

the N.W.M.P., the Department of Marine and Fisheries, and withstand the influence of arctic veterans (like Bernier) and their sponsors, what Barbara Kelcey has described as a "male dominated" and "male-defined" institutional network.[18] Clearly Moodie's photographic practice founded on professional experience, benefited from access to remote locations but at the same time had to negotiate the barriers of institutional protocol. What this position allowed was a less rigid adherence to established topographical or ethnographic photographic traditions and the possibility of applying studio and souvenir treatments to Northern subjects.

Despite the failure of the R.N.W.M.P. and Department of Marine and Fisheries to consider Moodie for the position of official photographer for the 1904 expedition, she had longstanding experience in the field and had previously received a government commission. As the owner of a series of photographic studios between 1895 and 1899, there is little doubt that Moodie was a competent photographer and well versed in the ways of marketing for

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[18] Kelcey, 150. In 1938 when Marion Grange joined the Dominion Government's Annual Eastern Arctic Patrol as the first official woman historian, she encountered resistance from Officer-in-Charge, Major D.L. McKeand on the basis that a woman would not understand the traditions which guided northern administration. Ibid., 163-64.

both private and public sectors.[19] When an entourage of government, Hudson Bay, C.P.R. and N.W.M.P. officials toured Saskatchewan in 1895, officials, including then Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell, commissioned photographs from Moodie's newly opened studio as souvenir and settlement promotion material.[20] Though few details of subject matter or prints of her government commission survive, it has been established that views of Fort Pitt, Frog Lake and Onion Lake were requested.[21]

Whether through personal interest or with an eye to marketability, Moodie's practice had included a substantial amount of native subject matter. Within the surviving body of work an alternate view of Moodie's approach to portraiture of Native peoples is available. In addition to the Saskatchewan views, church and barracks interiors and commercial portraiture, she produced a selection of portraits of local Cree personalities. Two of

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[19] Ibid., 30.

[20] Brock Silversides, "Moodie; Through A Woman's Eye," *Epic 1*, no. 1 (March 1991):28-30; Donny White, "Geraldine Moodie: A Biographical Sketch," *Women Together Magazine* (February 1993):14.

[21] Silversides, "Moodie: Through A Woman's Eye," 28. The fact that many of these sites were important in the Riel Rebellion suggests the possibility of political overtones, of the project. Showing these locations as peaceable and ready for white settlement may have been one aim of the

these *Pac-Sic-Wasis* (Figure 18) and *Kah-Me-Yo-ki-Sick-Way* or "Fine Day" (Figure 19) are posed studio images which emphasize the dress and ornamentation of the men set against a painted forest backdrop. Despite the fact that Moodie made portraits of some prominent members of the Native community, neither composition breaks away from the then standardized depiction of Natives.

While it has been suggested that select images from this period demonstrate Moodie's sensitivity to Native peoples, sufficient proof exists in these and others of a conventional approach.[22] Both photographs were included in a composite postcard of her photographs (Figure 20) Moodie likely produced for sale representing life at 'C' division at Battleford.[23] In this image Pac-Sic-Wasis becomes *Chief*

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project.

[22] Susan Close, "Framing Identity," chap. 4 passim. One photograph of a Native mother and child is discussed by Close as an example of Moodie's sensitive approach. The same image, however, appears in her composite postcard above the title *A Dusky Mother*. This portrait of Fine Day must have been one of a series, at least two other images of him held at the R.C.M.P. museum; one, untitled, is a double portrait of he and Kah-Me-Yo-ki-Sick-Way standing side by side against the same backdrop. The other shows him turned in three-quarter pose, ostensibly offering a military salute to someone beyond the frame. A note appended to the portrait of Pac-Sic-Wasis acknowledges the University of Lethbridge's Dr. Michael Wilson's suspicion that the clothing he wears may have been provided by the studio/Moodie.

[23] The composite as a whole bears her signature and at

Pac-Sic-Wasis and Fine Day appears under the title *Indian in Full War Dress*, as two of several Moodie photographs between banners reading "Maintien Le Droit" and "NWMP", devices which place the images in the category of "Indian," part of the exotic life on the frontier, and firmly under the control of the force.

The impact of changing signifiers such as pose and frame on the meaning of a photographic image raises questions of control. Recent scholarship on portraiture (Tagg, Pultz, Lalvani, Skidmore) has suggested that one element of commercial studio portraiture is the agreement between photographer and sitter upon arrangement of visual clues in the photograph. Both are party to the terms under which a representation of not only the sitter's 'likeness' but an assertion of his or her social position may be secured. Tagg's emphasis on the contingency of signifiers is aimed, in part, at examining the history of portraiture as a site at which layers of accrued meaning have become naturalized.

Early daguerreotype portraiture, Tagg notes, openly imitated the poses, sets, and framing of miniaturist or

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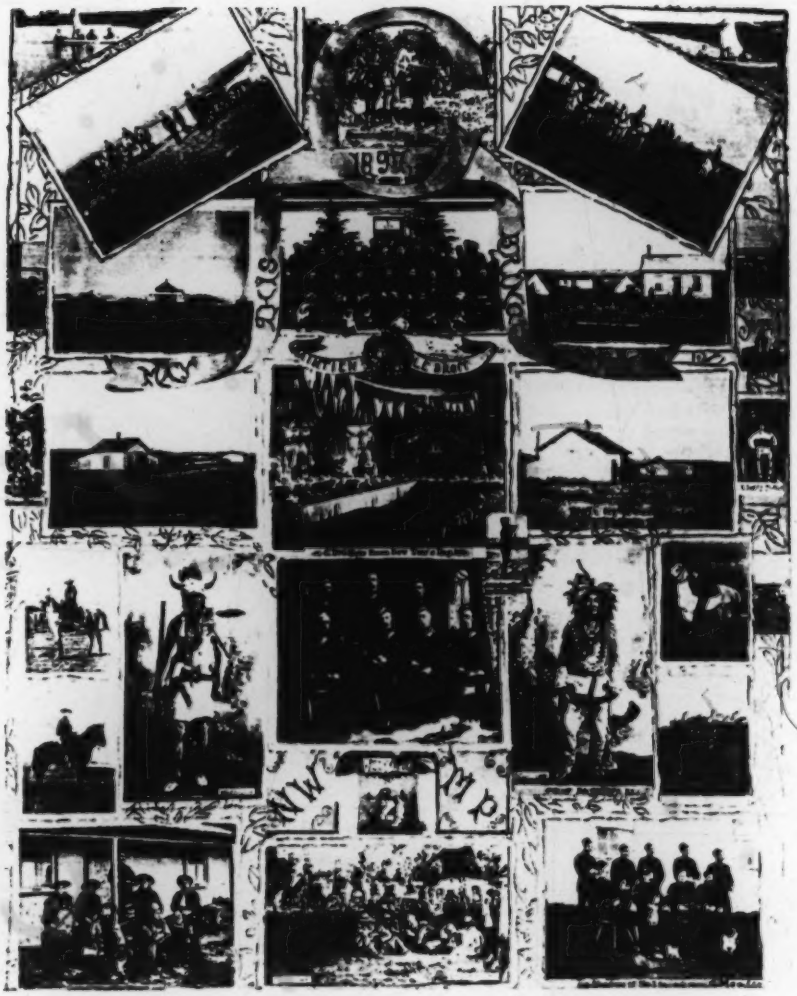
least six of twenty-eight images are clearly identifiable as Moodie photographs. Moreover the presentation resembles accounts of her usual product. (Brock Silversides, "Moodie: Through A Woman's Eye," 28-9.)

(Figure 18) Pac-Sic-Wasis, undated. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. National Archives of Canada, PA-028839

(Figure 19) Kah-Me-Yo-Ki-Sick-Way, or "Fine Day," undated. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. National Archives of Canada, PA-028837



(Figure 20) Untitled. (Composite N.W.M.P. Postcard), 1897. Photo Geraldine Moodie. R.C.M.P. Museum, Moodie file 934.6.21

upper scale portraits in a clear attempt to claim a similar status. By the late nineteenth century, as the middle classes gained strength and stability, it became easier for that class to acquire photographic portraits. Through this medium they could appropriate the symbols of affluence and lay claim to an elevated social status; in the newly opened social spaces for this kind of representation, deployment of such signifiers multiplied. Thus the language of the simple, full frontal pose, what Tagg calls a "code of social inferiority" was abandoned to the newly-professionalised social and scientific disciplines. It became a tool of observation and reform; those pictured in this framework were examples of deviancy from the developing notions of a norm, a concept based on the upper classes.[24]

Writing on the various functions of the portrait during this time of shifting discourses, Allan Sekula notes further that "photography came to establish and delimit the terrain of the *other*, to define both the *generalized look*--the typology--and the *contingent instance* of deviance and social pathology."[25] Effectively,

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[24] John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 36.

[25] Original emphasis. Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of*

subjects who had the means of procuring and manipulating their own representations were able to play upon the conventions for their own benefit while those who had less control of their own images, because of geographic or socio-economic barriers, were practically susceptible to their misuse.

As Christopher Pinney has noted, anthropology and photography emerged at the same point in history.[26] The pervasive nineteenth-century methodology of positivism facilitated the belief in objective observation on which the authority of both hinged. As bodies of such photographs accumulated, were taken up as "collection[s] of 'facts", facilitating systematic organization and analysis, in the service of scientific enquiry.[27] Men like Carl Dammann, Louis Agassiz and T.H. Huxley, among others, were proponents of such a use of photographs by visual anthropology which saw photography as an important source

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Photography, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 345.

[26] Christoper Pinney, "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography," in *Photography and Anthropology 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1992), 82; Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 11.

[27] Terence Wright, "Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention," in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, 20.

of unbiased data on 'other', non-European cultures.[28] J.H. Lamprey and T.H. Huxley, working separately, devised standardization systems for the taking of such portraits in which the subjects were to be posed both frontally and in profile, against a gridded backdrop in order to facilitate measurement of their bodies and facial features.[29] In the production of such imagery the professional institutions have the power to define; the discourses in which institutions operate take up photographs and invest them with the authority.[30]

Certainly, the slippage evident between the discourses of studio portraiture and ethnographic photography discernible in Moodie's images recalls the conventions of late-nineteenth-century travel photography. But neither is that category of photographic practice a simple matter. John Pultz, in discussing that genre, has noted that the undisputed objectivity of the photograph helped to launch a trend in photographing indigenous

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[28] Dammann, working in 1870 for the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Early History, produced series of paired frontal and profile photographs of subjects for similar purposes "as part of a project to define racial types." (John Pultz, *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995], 24-26.)

[29] Christopher Pinney, "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography," 77.

subjects that broached the limits of both. According to Pultz, a distinctive sub-genre of portraiture emerged from the quantities of images put out by commercial firms and sold to tourists but doubled as aids for ethnographers. For Moodie, the less rigorous approach of the genre allowed for the production of images that could capture a sense of the exotic and which coincided with the bounds of prescribed 'feminine' practice.

Although such practice was naturalized as an outgrowth of the travel experience, the terms on which it was conducted produced and reproduced characteristically unbalanced relationships between photographer and subjects.[31] In his text *Anthropological Uses of the Camera* Im Thurn suggested that,

> [as] Primitive phases of life are fast fading from the world in this age of restless travel and exploration, and it should be recognised as almost the duty of educated travellers in the less known parts of the world to put [these] on permanent record, before it is too late.[32]

Further he argued,

> the camera, to say nothing of its uses for

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[30] Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 5, passim.

[31] Pultz, *The Body and the Lens*, 23.

[32] E.F. Im Thurn, "Anthropological Uses of the Camera," *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Journal* 22 (1892-93): 184, 200. Later paragraph also quoted in Terence Wright, "Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention," 20.

> anthropometric photography, may be utilised by the traveller with anthropological tastes to very great advantage in securing, for exhibition to those of similar tastes who are not lucky enough to be able to travel and see for themselves, accurate records of the appearance, life, and habits of the primitive folk visited.

Moreover, a celebratory air still surrounded the notion of British expansion and fostered great interest in the "native races of the empire". This characterization of the market for such photograhic work sheds light on Moodie's approach and her Fullerton work. As Richard Grover has suggested,

> Commercial photographers … keen to exploit the European demand for exotic scenes, set out to 'discover' foreign lands photographically. Although professional travel photographers, scientific explorers, military men and missionaries deployed the camera for their own particular purposes, they frequently did so through a wider geographical discourse which was informed by European political and cultural hegemony.[33]

This approach visible in Moodie's Fullerton work is consistent with similar production of such photographs in Britain and the United States. What was happening in those locations was the emergence of a body of photography that exemplified the confluence of ethnographic, travel and

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[33] Richard H. Grover,"Imperial Landscapes: Photography, Geography and British Overseas Exploration, 1858-1872," in *Geography and Imperialism* eds. Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 57.

imperialist discourses. This genre, epitomized by the catalogues of 'types' which appeared as components of international exhibitions like the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago (1893) and St. Louis World's Fair (1904) and as inventories of the British territories.[34] Both forums were substantial undertakings and far from innocent collections of photographs. The fairs were mounted as elaborate commemorations of events like the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's journey, and the Louisiana Purchase.[35] In 1869, a volume was commissioned from T.H. Huxley by the British Colonial Office in which he was "to devise instructions for the 'formation of systematic series of photographs of the various races of men comprehended within the British Empire.'" Fifty-five years later Sir Godfrey Lagden published his work, entitled *The Native Races of the Empire* (1924).[36]

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[34] Eric Breitbart, *A World on Display: photographs from the St. Louis World's Fair 1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 2. The Gerhard sisters too were responding to the commercial possibilities of making money from portraits of exotic "types." Charles Carpenter was working on anthropological material but used a more aesthetic approach than documentation of Beals and Johnston. (Ibid., 11.)

[35] Breitbart, *A World on Display,* 35.

[36] His response was the systematized anthropomorphic approach to ethnographic photography. (Pultz, *The Body and the Lens*, 24. Sir Godfrey Lagden, *The Native Races of the*

However familiar she might have been with specific events in other locations, Moodie had knowledge of the Canadian government's interest in images of its North and West. Besides Superintendent Moodie's work on the1903 *Neptune* expedition which he must surely have shared with her, Moodie's earlier government commission to supply photographs of Prairie locations, including several points of historical interest, would have lead her to expect interest from that sector.

Within Canadian borders issues of expansion and sovereignty in the Arctic spurred the federal government to act. Expeditions on into that region such as the *Neptunes's* and *Arctic's* 1903 and 1904 journeys to Fullerton and the detachments established at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson in the Western Arctic were direct responses to concern over foreign presence in the North. Given the institutional culture taking hold in the Canadian North, the illustrated reports of A.P. Low of the *Neptune's* voyage and Bernier's of the *Arctic's* 1908 and 1910 trips, although geared to a readership of government scientists and administrators, in intent recall this summary approach to remote regions and peoples.

The differences in the photographic practices of Low,

Empire [London: W. Collins Sons & co. ltd., 1924].)

Comer and Moodie are highlighted in a series of portraits of the local Inuit women images made by each. The elaborately decorated amautit worn by the women were a source of fascination for Moodie and the other photographers as they were for Munday. At Fullerton, the interest from the White community in the traditional amautit of the Aivilik and Qaernirmiut cultures, while it likely varied from the quest for souvenirs to educational material and appreciation for the design, usually manifested itself as offers to buy or trade for them. George Comer, sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History, collected at least the amautit worn by Niviatsianaq and one with a represtation of the *Era* on the amaut.[37] A photograph of Niviatsianaq made by A.P. Low only

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[37] Niviatsiaq, also called Shoofly, reportedly traded cloth brought by ships from the south to the women of the community for beadwork which Comer then collected and sent south, presumably to the American Museum of Natural History. (Dorothy Harley Eber, *When The Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* [Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989] 122.) If captain Comer had any understanding of the significance of the amautit to the cultures it never surfaced in Boas' or any other publications of the time. A.P. Low also collected an outer Qaernirmiut parka.(Hall, Oates, Webster, *Sanatujut*, 41.) Supt. Moodie initially forbade Arctic members from purchasing artifacts from the Inuit on the basis of what he believed were instructions from Comptroller White. After corresponding on the matter, Moodie permitted his men and the ship's crew to acquire "souvenirs in reasonable quantities...for their mothers, wives, sweethearts." (Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 97.)

months before Moodie's, entitled *Shoofly Comer* (Figure 21), gives some indication of the of the amateur ethnographers at Fullerton. In this image the woman, whose anglicized nickname "Shoofly" appears on the right chest panel of her amautik partially hidden by a hairstick, is centred in the frame and posed frontally, the intricacies of her garment clearly on display. In addition to her clothing, the woman's features and distinctly visible tattoo patterns are a point of interest. Comparison to Moodie's photograph of her which shows her face to be unmarked and passages from Comer's diary establish the fact that Niviatsianaq's tattoo is not part of her usual appearance but is drawn on for the occasion of this photograph.

Inuit women dressed in beaded atigi appear quite consistently in Moodie's Fullerton photographs. No doubt Moodie would likely have appreciated the clothing for its aesthetic qualities, design and craft as did the other photographers at Fullerton but, without an understanding of the Inuit language or much of the culture to inform her selection of subject matter, what status did the figures of women in their amautiks hold in her work? Dorothy Harley Eber has commented on Moodie's interest in including amautit in her photographs: "Some of Geraldine's

most arresting photographs show Inuit women in their parkas decorated with wonderful designs and pictures .... Geraldine must have recognized them as works of art."[38] Eber's observation implies a particular judgement on the part of Moodie. In fact there is nothing but her photographs to indicate her intent. Clearly as subjects the women, the amautit and the setting coincide with Moodie's interest in Native subjects and in making images of the North, as well as prescribed 'feminine' practice but were such photographs to be considered aesthetic or ethnographic objects, souvenirs or portraits?

One of the key differences in ethnographic as opposed to traditional European portraiture is the relationship between photographer and sitter or sitters. An indication of that can be found in the titles given to images. While the conventions of ethnographic photography, by and large, presented sitters of non-European descent as members of a particular ethnic group and not individuals, a significant aspect of portraiture done by and for Europeans or EuroCanadians involved the notion of individual identity. In Moodie's case, however, it is difficult to conclude any such thing; the issue of naming is complicated by the

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[38] Eber, "A Feminine Focus On The Last Frontier," *Arctic Circle* 5 (Spring 1994):20.

(Figure 21) "Shoofly Comer." (Eskimo Woman in Gala Dress), 1903-04. Photo by A.P. Low. National Archives of Canada, PA-53548

existence of multiple prints with differing captions.

Copies of Moodie's Fullerton portraits are held at the British Museum, at the R.C.M.P. Museum and at the National Archives of Canada as well other institutions.[39] Eber has noted that the origin of the Moodie collection at the British Museum is linked to copyright legislation active in Moodie's time. Initially set to cover written work, the Canadian Copyright Act, revised in 1895 applied equally to photography in its stipulation that two copies of each work to be copyrighted be deposited in the Parliament of Canada "and one in the British Museum".[40] As a professional, Moodie understood the value of such protection and acted accordingly. The difficulty is that

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[39] Besides these collections, prints of the Fullerton photographs may be held with other Moodie work at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, the Medicine Hat Museum, at Maple Creek and in private collections. This study is based on observations at the R.C.M.P. Museum, National Archives and a selection of published material cited throughout the chapter.

[40] Ilse Sternberg, "The British Museum Library And Colonial Copyright Deposit," *British Library Journal* 17, no.1 (1991): 64-65. Although an International Copyright was established through the Berne Convention and the English Copyright Act of 1886, the colonial secretary, on behalf of the British Museum, lobbied Canadian officials to retain the Museum deposit requirement in the upcoming Canadian Copyright revision, as he said, for favours gained by Canadian authors and artists in the new British Act. (Henry R. Clayton, *Anglo-Canadian Copyright with Special Reference to the Canadian Act, London, 1889* [London; New York: Novello, Ewer], 12; Sternberg, 65.)

over time the copy collections have been lost or destroyed until little replication exists and similar but unique images bear widely different notations.[41]

In discussing a selection of Moodie's prints held in the British Museum, Dorothy Harley Eber notes that the photographer took care to label her images with the names of each sitter. One photograph in particular, entitled by the British Museum *Aivilik Women* and *Group of Eskimo women at Fullerton Harbour* by the R.C.M.P. Museum (Figure 22), dated between 1904 and 1905, pictures six Aivilingmiut women, including the three figures in the *Iwilik Women* (Figure 15) image. Looking at the arrangement of figures, a viewer might surmise that this photograph is a variation of that composition. Each woman, standing or sitting in the tight space, calmly faces the viewer, displaying her parka for the camera. The three "Iwilik" women stand in a configuration that mirrors the other image. The individualizing influence of names is highlighted when Eber, by cross-referencing names listed on individual portraits from the British Museum collection, lists the

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[41] Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North*, 178, n.16. Eber has noted elsewhere that the deposit collection is unique and not a replica or replicated in any collection in Canada. ("A Feminine Focus On The Last Frontier," 18.)

(Figure 22) Group of Eskimo Women, no date. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. R.C.M.P. Museum, Moodie file, 934.6.40

women known in the Fullerton area as (l-r) "Kookooleshook (Kukilasak), Tuucklucklock, Nivisinark (Shoofly), Towtook, Kooalashalolay, Uckonuck".[42]

What is in question is the process by which such names, and identities, have, apart from Eber's work, been separated from the images as they circulated in the south. While Eber notes that "underneath almost every photograph [Moodie] had meticulously noted the Inuktitut name of her sitter," records at the National Archives of Canada note that only the title *Iwilik Women* was written on the back the photographer's print in their collection.[43]

That both collections carry authentic notations by Moodie remains a possibility. More conclusive evidence might lead to revelations about institutional practices or the impact of different distribution systems. Nonethelss, the issue of individuality encoded in the use of personal names or erased through the homogenizing *Iwilik Women* is

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[42] Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North*, 107. One individual portrait of a woman in the R.C.M.P. collection is appended with a typed note which bears the title *Ooktook* but no provenance/ derivation for the annotation is available. Niviatsianaq is the central figure in Moodie's *Iwilik Women* turned to show the back of her amautik, a garment that would become one of the many artifacts in Boas' collection. (Driscoll, "Pretending to be Caribou," 199.)

[43] Eber, "A Feminine Focus On The Last Frontier," 18; Andrew Roger, National Archives of Canada, interview by author, *by telephone*, Ottawa, 15 April, 1997.

highlighted by the dual treatment. While the inscriptions on the British Museum photographs indicate a sensitivity on Moodie's part that might have been dismissed the titles of the two images *Iwilik Women, Aivilik Women or Group of Eskimo Women* are not in dispute nor is the fundamental approach the photographer took to the subject and composition of her work. Moodie's interest in the women and their amautit is as a beautiful and exotic display, and in *capturing* such value in a photograph.

Moodie's particular approach to composition in her Fullerton portraits must be situated within her more immediate context as well. While she was clearly negotiating the bounds of ethnographic, travel and EuroCanadian studio practices, her experience as a professional woman and her position in the North and South as a police officer's wife would have informed her understanding of events unfolding at that time. Moreover, Moodie was there as a white woman making photographs of the Inuit for sale and for viewing by Southern consumers. As commodities, her images are coded for that market.

Beside the overt exclusion from the position of official photographer, the professional discourses of ethnography and the other scientific disciplines represented on the Arctic expedition, Moodie's practice

was certainly shaped by her awareness of gender conventions in the reception of her work. Turn-of-the-century notions of femininity led to the widely held belief that women had a natural affinity for portraiture. Notions such as women's intuition and their innate sensitivity to interpersonal relationships, which originated in the social context, guided expectations for women's photographic practices as well.[44] In terms of subject matter, the assumption prevailed that 'women's work', domestic affairs, needlework, studies of flowers, plant life, and most decidedly children and motherhood, would form the basis of a woman's practice. As Naomi Rosenblum has pointed out,

> Considered more attuned than men to family relationships in general and to offspring in particular, women were expected to excel at portraits that embodied middle-class values about motherhood, family, and woman's role in the proper upbringing of children.[45]

It was certainly encouraged by reviewers of their work. The few women photographers of note, such as Alice Austin and Gertrude Kasebier, had received critical

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[44] Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994), 59, 74-5; Laura Jones, *Rediscovery: Canadian Women Photographers 1841-1941* (London: London Regional Art Gallery, 1983), 5.

[45] Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, 82.

acclaim for maternal images in American photography exhibitions and publications with which Moodie, as a professional, might have been familiar.[46] Moreover, the experience of her own photographic studio would have alerted her to these trends and expectations.

Portrayals of family and motherhood were popularized further by those concerned with the health and status of the nation's growing population. Increasing immigration and the brutal consequences of Canada's industrialization were thought by some to have jeopardized the wholesome (clean, prosperous, white) image that southern Canadians had of themselves.[47] Such notions, together with the understanding of Inuit and other non-white populations as members of the Canadian and British Commonwealth societies, opened a niche for such images as *Inuit Widow with Children* (Figure 16).

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[46] Gertrude Kasebier's photographs of mothers and children appeared at the Philadelphia salon of 1899, Adelaide Hanscom's genre portraits were featured in 1903 and 1906 issues of *Camera Craft*, Grace Cook, Alice Austin and Mathilde Weil all professional photographers around the turn of the century produced many photographs with maternal themes, in part as dependable sources of income. (Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers*, 82-4.) Mattie Gunterman and Henrietta Constantine are two Canadian amateur photographers whose work might have been known to Moodie.

[47] Ramsay Cook, "The Triumph and Trials of Materialism 1900-1945," in *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Craig Brown (Torono: Lester Publishing, 1987), 397-98.

That triple portrait is a rich example of her method. One of the most striking elements of the photograph is the composition; by using this symbolically loaded arrangement of mother and children, Moodie invokes the serene 'natural' motherhood associated with the composition in the minds of Southern viewers. This is not the only incidence of this symbol in Moodie's Fullerton work. In a photograph entitled *Ivalik Woman and Child*, (Figure 23) the mother, dressed in her amautik, sits with the child on her lap, encircled in her arms in a pose reminiscent of that iconic pose of motherhood, the Madonna and child.

The composition is one Moodie would surely have produced countless times. Portraiture of family groups constituted a large portion of business for southern photographic studios. As the basis for social organization, representations of the family as a coherent structure were ubiquitous and significant. Such images provided family members not only with 'likenesses' of loved ones, but of the prominence of the family unit. Suren Lalvani, writing on the production of the modern body in photography, describes the family portrait as common means through which the notion of the family as a central unit of production was established:

Moreover, in portrait after portrait, the family

> appears "as an autonomous emotional unit [that] cuts across class and power relations to imply that everyone shares the same experience." The regulation of images, in providing for "a common sexual and economic goal" and in enabling ideological oversight to permeate the private realm, plays "a central role in the development of the ... ideology of the family".[48]

The family, too, in Inuit tradition was the basis of social organization; mother, father, children and grandparents would have constituted an ideal household. But traditional values which emphasized taking responsibility for survivors lessen the likelihood of a widow and children forming a single family unit.[49] In discussing the role of adoption in Inuit cultures, Lee Guemple has pointed out the unlikelihood of a widow and her children remaining a distinct family unit for any period of time. He notes that in the Inuit world, particularly the Eastern Arctic, adoption is a respected

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[48] Judith Williamson, *Consuming Passions: The Dynamics of Popular Culture* (London: Marion Boyars, 1985), 116; quoted in Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies*, 65.

[49] Kaj Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos: Material and Social Life and their Cultural Position*, vol. 1, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24: The Danish Expedition to Arctic North America in Charge of Knud Rasmussen, vo. 5 (Copenhagen: Glydeddalske Boghandel, Mordisk Forlag, 1929) 292-93; Franz Boas, *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay, parts I & II*, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 15, 1901 (New York: by Order of the Trustees, 1901), 115-18; Eber, "A Feminine Focus On The Frontier," 21; Arthur Ray, "When Two Worlds Met," 67-9.

(Figure 23) Ivalik [Aivillik] Woman and Child, Fullerton, 1904. Photo by J.D. Moodie (attributed) Geraldine Moodie (signed). National Archives of Canada, C-1814.

tradition that often gains increased prestige for the adoptive family. It may include children and adults in a variety of different relationships and is much more common in Inuit than EuroCanadian cultures.[50]

Since contact, Europeans have written volumes about the customs of marriage, childrearing and other family arrangement often misconstruing events and behaviours by engaging in relativist practices.[51] In his 1901 monograph on the Inuit of the eastern Arctic, Franz Boas noted that in the "social organization" of the Aivilinmiut people:

> Orphans and aged people who become a burden to the tribe may be killed. Some instances of these practices are described by Captain Comer. A woman now living near Repulse Bay had an idiotic child...The child's father died about ten years ago, and the mother could hardly get a living, and no man wanted to take with the child.[52]

Superintendent Moodie, however, in attempting to surmise Inuit customs clearly fell under the influence of

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[50] Lee Guemple, *Inuit Adoption*, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 47. (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), 55. The Inuktitut word "tiguaq" "roughly analogous to the term 'adoptee'" is neither age nor gender specific. (Ibid., 3.)

[51] As early as 1577 the Frobisher expedition captured an unrelated Inuit couple in an attempt to observe sexual behaviour. Richard C. Davis ed., *Rupert's Land: A Cultural Tapestry* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 57.

[52] Franz Boas, *The Eskimo Of Baffin Land And Hudson Bay*, 117.

the popular conception of the 'savage' lifestyle. In a diary entry that bespeaks his own frustration, Comer recalls an episode during which Supt. Moodie, addressing the assembled Aivilingmiut and Qaernermiut, "... questioned the Eskimos about their practices of infanticide, parricide, and cannibalism, to which they understandably gave him evasive answers."[53]

A look at the presentation of a related theme in geologist Walter Livingstone-Learmouth's *Savage Boys* (Figure 24) provides a contrast to Moodie's treatment of the subject. Here the sense of disharmony is emphasized in the unbalanced composition, shifting pose and worn clothing of the children pictured. In *Inuit Widow with Children*, Moodie has composed an image which constructs the Inuit family according to the bounds of feminine practices and the perceptions of family familiar to a Southern audience

That is not to say that Moodie wishes to erase any differences between the Inuit she pictures and the

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[53] Harwood Steele excerpts Supt. Moodie's official report, specifically: "He found hardly any crime [at Baffin]. The greatest was the Eskimo's most common: 'The easy way in which the natives take women as wives and the equally easy style in which they discard them.'" (Harwood Steele, *Policing the Arctic: The Story of the conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (Formerly the North-West) Mounted Police [Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1935]*, 100.)

southern viewers she anticipated. In addition to emphasing ethnic identity in her composition of *Inuit Widow with Children*, Moodie indirectly comments on the reportedly harsh living conditions of the people. Moodie's focus on the theme of family here is not unprecedented.

The safe, domestic atmosphere is jarred by the element of danger and loss introduced in the description of the adult woman as an Inuit widow, a label that has implications in the context of government presence in the North at this time. In 1902, just two years before the Moodies arrived at Fullerton, an epidemic hit Southampton Island, Repulse Bay and possibly the surrounding area, just across Roes Welcome Sound and North of Fullerton, respectively, killing several Aivilingmiut and all but five Sadlermiut, the Inuit people of the island. The spectre of the 1902 epidemic was still very much in evidence during Moodie's stay in Fullerton.[54]

Indeed, that Moodie did have knowledge of the event is suggested by the existence of two photographs she made of children likely involved. One, untitled, in her

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[54] The exact cause of the Sadlermiut tragedy has never been pinpointed but oral histories of the occurrence tie it to the arrival of a Scottish whaling ship in 1902. (Gillies Ross, "Whaling And The Decline Of Native Populations," *Arctic Anthropology* 14, no. 2 [1977]:4.)

(Figure 24) Savage Boys, Pond's Inlet, July, 1888. Photo by Walter Livingstone-Learmouth. National Archives of Canada C-088359

references to it, is identified by Dorothy Eber as a photograph of two Sadlermiut surivors (Figure 25).[55] Its composition, less stable than that of *Inuit Widow with Children*, communicates a greater sense of rupture. In the image the two children (probably between the ages of two and five) are of varying heights. Dressed in the outer parkas of the Aivilingmiut, they stand beside each other, arms at their sides, against the white canvas backdrop. The girl looks shyly at the lens, the boy to his left, bits his lip. Their candid facial expressions and physical isolation in the frame reinforce the notion of their orphaned status.

The other photograph, entitled *Edward Donnant sa Leçon* (Figure 26), has firm ties to that event. The child pictured is noted in the images' caption as a boy orphaned in 1902 and brought from Repulse Bay, a location at which the epidemic had also hit and to which the Scottish whaling ship *Active* took some of the Sadlermiut survivors.[56] The arrangement of the two figures pictured,

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[55] Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North*, 77; Eber, "A Feminine Focus On The Last Frontier," 21.

[56] Ross, "Whaling And The Decline Of Native Populations," *Arctic Anthropology 14, no. 2* (1977):4. This portrait is part of the Bernier collection (acc. 1967-123) at the NAC; the caption reads "Eward receives a lesson".

(Figure 25) Untitled, (Two Sadlermiut Children) no date. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. R.C.M.P. Museum, Moodie file, 934.6.51

(Figure 26) Edward donnant sa Lecon, Fullerton, NWT, Avril 1905. Photo by Geraldine Moodie. National Archives of Canada PA-061525

the Inuit child who leans against the seated White man (who bears a resemblance to Captain Comer and to Bernier), is striking. The arrangement of figures in the photograph recalls the paternal aspects of the relationship that developed between EuroCanadian institutional agents and Inuit during this period. Officially, Inuit were not party to any treaty nor the Indian Act before 1924, but unofficially referred to as "wards of the federal government."

One thrust of current research into photography of non-Western subjects by Western photographers is that, as John Pultz has suggested, sitters were "subjected to a camera lens in the service of colonialism, racism and capitalism".[57] As well, Joanne Scherer, has observed that historical images of Native North Americans,

> made in order to "prove" the existence of the "discovered" natives or as proof of their "possession" by the government representatives, are rarely informal pictures reflecting personalities. The fact that these photographers were not intimate with their subjects is evident.[58]

Abigail Solomon-Godeau, however, warns against a too

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[57] John Pultz, *The Body and the Lens*, 23.

[58] Joanna Cohan Scherer, *Picturing Cultures: Historical Photographs in Anthropological Inquiry*, Visual Anthropology, vol. 3, no. 2-3, (Chur [Switzerland]; New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1990), 143.

simplistic understanding of that relationship, noting that false assumptions of often made about what can be complex but invisible relationships between parties. Such was the case at Fullerton. Because of the long-established presence of whites and photographers in the region, the sitters, while estranged from the terms of distribution and consumption of their images, did not have the hostile relationship with the photographer alluded to in Pultz's writing. At Fullerton, by 1904, a substantial history of Inuit-white contact was established and the groundwork of a relationship between the contemporary generation of Inuit and Whites had been laid by Comer and his crew. Although the discourses of colonialism and capitalism were inherently part of Moodie's and the R.N.W.M.P. presence in Fullerton, the history of that place should not be oversimplified.

It is likely that Captain Comer's relationship with the Inuit people around Fullerton including the conduct of his own photographic practice, had a profound impact on the way they interacted with the R.C.M.P. party. He had a longer standing and more intimate relationship than other EuroCanadians with the Aivilingmiut and Qaernermiut communities, and a grasp of the Inuktitut language that

others did not have.[59] A significant aspect of Comer's approach was institutional sponsorship. By the time the other photographers, Low, Bernier, Mackean and the Moodies arrived at Fullerton, Comer was working on behalf of American anthropologist Franz Boas of the American Museum of Natural History. Indeed, from 1900 Boas (curator of anthropology 1895--1905), had supplied him with lists of artifacts to be collected and photographic plates (twelve dozen on his 1903-05 journey) on which to make images.[60]

That the relationship between photographers was contentious is a matter of record; Comer resented Supt. Moodie's implementation of a new order and his attitude. What impact this had on the photography sessions is a

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[59] W. Gillies Ross, "George Comer, Franz Boas, and the American Museum of Natural History," *Inuit Studies* 8, no. 1 (1984):148-49.

[60] In the late 1880's, anthropologist Franz Boas had passed through the region trying to take photographs of the inhabitants when he met Comer. The whaling captain then took over the project from Boas whose attempts had been less than successful. Richard D. Condon, "The History and Development of Arctic Photography," *Arctic Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (1989):54. While Clark Wissler, Boas' successor, placed a stronger emphasis on photography as a tool of anthropology, from the early days of this association to his last days in Hudson Bay (1915) Comer made hundreds of photographs. (Ross, "George Comer, Franz Boas and the American Museum of Natural History," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, 8, No. 1 [1984]:146, 155; Ross, "The Use and Misuse of Historical Photographs: A Case Study From Hudson Bay, Canada," *Arctic Anthropology*, 27:2, 96.)

matter of speculation. Comer's diary does note occasions of cooperation between him and the Moodies:

> [May 5, 1905] Major and Mrs. Moodie came over and took some pictures of our boats and natives, then came in and spent the evening.
>
> [May 6 1905] Major Moodie gave me some developing powder for bringing out the pictures on glass plates.[61]

To complicate matters Bernier sided with Comer.[62] Indeed, during the *Neptune* expedition Comer and geologist Low shared similar interests in ethnographic subject matter, making mostly frontally posed portraits showing clothing and facial features, and Bernier shared photographic equipment with them.[63] Another excerpt of Comer's invaluable diary gives some indication of the breakdown in approaches. Referring to the Aivilingmiut as "our natives," Comer recounts numerous sessions of life casting

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[61] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 186, 186, n.9.

[62] Dorion-Robitaille, *Captain J.E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty In the Arctic*, 45; Steele, *Policing the Arctic: The Story of the conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (Formerly the North-West) Mounted Police (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1935)*, 96. Bernier held a grudge against Supt. Moodie even before the *Arctic* had left harbour; his dreams of leading a polar expedition were dashed when Moodie was put in charge of the *Arctic* in 1904. Robbin Frazer, *Captain Joseph-Elzear Bernier North of 60 Degrees: Dean of Arctic Explorers and Architect of Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic. (Ottawa:* Indian and Northern Affairs, *1980*, 5.)

[63] Ibid., 95, 174.

of the faces and hands of willing Inuit, as requested by Boas, and of photographing some of the women's traditional facial tattoo patterns:

> Today got several of the women to tattoo their faces with paint, as the tattooing on their faces will not take and show in a photograph. In this way I got five very good pictures showing as many different tribes - the Iwilic, the Netchilic, the Kenepetu, the Ponds Bay, and Southampton styles. Commander Low and Major Moodie also took pictures of the same.[64]

One photograph likely produced at this or during a similar session is *Aivilik Women with Tattooed Faces* (Figure 27), made by A.P. Low. In this image, five women, including the three from Moodie's *Iwilik Women*, are arranged in two tiers, one standing behind the others sitting. Of the five only the woman in the group's centre, Nivatsianaq, wears an amautik, which is clearly identifiable by its imagery; the others wear the plainer outer parkas. Although the pattern of quliktaq and amautik is balanced, only two of the subjects engage the viewer and the off-centre analy of view creates an irregular rhythm of forms. What might have been a group positioned for one photographer has likely been turned for the benefit of another. The main subject of the photograph is the facial tattoos worn by the women. The wording of

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[64] Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 90,95.

(Figure 27) Aivilik Women with Tattooed Faces, Fullerton, Hudson's Bay, 1903-04. National Archives of Canada PA 38271

Comer's diary entry is indicative of his plainly ethnographic interest of photographic work. It also emphasizes the differences between these and Moodie's practices.

Some indication of the status of the Inuit sitters at Fullerton can be pieced together from oral histories, Comer's diary entries and official geological and police reports. The activities of the whalers, the police and two Inuit bands became so intertwined that, upon arrival at Fullerton, the *Arctic* on which the Moodie's travelled, was assigned two Inuit bands while the *Era* crew worked with two others; while most of the Aivilingmiut men were employed by Comer and the whalers in winter while the Qaernermiut worked for the N.W.M.P.[65]

The relationship between the Inuit and police were of

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[65] A.P. Low wrote the following about the arrival of the *Neptune* in 1903: "Shortly after our arrival the natives congregated about the ships, and to avoid misunderstanding, an agreement was made with Captain Comer, that he should care for the Aivillik tribe, while the Kenipitu tribe would belong to the Neptune." (A.P. Low, *The Cruise of the Neptune 1903-04, or Report on the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands on Board the D.G.S. 'Neptune' 1903-04* [Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906], 27.) In his 1904 diary, Comer differentiates between "our" and "their eskimos," meaning of course those groups working and living near his ship and those near the Arctic. The men were engaged by both crews to procure meat and perform general labour while the women made winter clothing for them. (Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 90.)

a slightly different nature. Althqugh Frederick White, comptroller of the Mounted Police in 1904, had written a period of grace into his strategy for bringing the Inuit of Fullerton under the precepts of Canadian law, he had also allowed for substantial room for interpretation of that law by the officer leading the expedition. In a meeting prior to departure for Fullerton, White informed Supt. Moodie of the intended goals of the mission without placing detailed limits on his authority. Within his responsibilities were, [t]he boarding of vessels which may be met; the establishing of police posts ... [and] the introduction of the system of Government control as prevails in the organized portion of Canada. [66]

Supt. Moodie, however, demonstrated a notable lack of understanding in his treatment of the Inuit, whom he saw as newly proclaimed Canadian citizens. To White, Supt. Moodie responded: "In the cases of offenses [sic] by natives I would take chances and try them--as I have done before in the N.W.T.--but where a whiteman was concerned I would not take chances of an action for false imprisonment

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[66] Memo from Comptroller White, 1 August 1904, Comptroller's Office, Official Correspondence Series, 1874-1919, National Archives of Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Papers, v. 293; quoted in *Showing the*, 97.

or whatever the penalty might be."

In this region recently staked out as R.N.W.M.P. jurisdiction, such tragedies as the Southampton Island epidemic were perceived as justification for government intervention. Whether or not the sitters for *Inuit Widow with Children* were survivors remains unknown. As a representation of the Northern lifestyle circulating in the South, the image of a ruptured family unit perpetuated or helped to construct the perception of Inuit culture and lifestyle as deficient. News of the catastrophe that killed all but five Sadlermiut must have provided some justification for the intervention of the somewhat paternal policies of the law enforcement and government policies in the region.[67]

Five different ethnic groups had traditional territory around the region at this time. It had become customary for whalers to employ men from the bands as providers of meat, guides, navigators and labourers while the women helped the men and made clothing for the crews. An excerpt from the 1904 annual R.N.W.M.P. report notes the following:

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[67] One of Superintendent Moodie's first prohibitions was on the hunting of musk-ox; he feared that the Inuit were on the verge of over-harvesting the animals and about to cause a famine. (Morrison *Showing the Flag*, 93.)

> For liaison with the Inuit--translating, hunting for meat, and general work--he also recommended the employment of two Natives at each post. They were to be paid 4.50$ a month and keep, a sum which seems ungenerous, but with which they would apparently be well pleased.'[68]

The sitters in Moodie's *Iwilik Women* had appeared in other images made by Comer and Low, and were at least familiar with the operation that had been going on around them since 1893-94.[69] Oral histories of this period, such as those collected by Dorothy Eber, include stories of cooperation between a small group of Inuit that appear in photographs most often but few references to the photographic sessions are included. A grandaughter of Niviatsianaq remembers that the older woman was instrumental in negotiating exchanges of goods and expertise between the white and Inuit communities. There is little hard evidence about the nature of Moodie's interaction with her sitters. While her photographs do not fit the purely ethnographic mode in evidence in Comer's and Low's images, they do fit other criteria the

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[68] Canadian Parliament, Sessional Papers, "Report of the Royal North-West Mounted Police," 1904-1919, Ottawa, 1905-1920, Report, 1904, IV, 5; quoted in Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 95.

[69] Comer's presence and photography sessions began in 1893-94. Whalers had lived among the Aivilingmiut on and off since 1864. (Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 20, 40,n.2.)

photographer may have been looking to meet.

In terms of social conventions and marketing, Moodie had not only her professional profile to maintain, but also her position as the wife of the commanding officer of the Hudson Bay district and the *Arctic* expedition.[70] Although it has occasionally been suggested that Moodie was able to show more progressive ideas than Supt. Moodie, it is doubtful that she would have carried on a professional practice and submitted work to government departments much at odds with the goals of the R.N.W.M.P. Moreover, with intentions to submit a portfolio of her Fullerton work to various officials, who saw the land and the people as part of a new jurisdiction, Moodie would certainly have understood official interest in her work to be encouraged by sympathetic, exotic views of a people in need of new technologies and, by implication, new administration.

Moodie's professional status and earlier marketing of Cree portraits indicate a keener interest on the part of the photographer rather than the sitters. Indeed, it is

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[70] An entry in Comer's diary points to a rather conventional activity for the time "...I have been working carving out some designs on walrus tusks and took them over to show Mrs. Moodie, who is interested in such work as she is at work carving woodwork such as trays,". (Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 163.)

possible that Moodie's Inuit subjects may never have seen their own portraits. It has been suggested that she used a large format camera with glass plate negatives which may or may not have been developed on site.[71] The Inuit community has recently called for the return or deposit of such photographs as a valuable historical resource.[72]

The format of Moodie's portraits bears some resemblance to conventional European and urban-Canadian portraiture but, as with many such portrayals of colonized people, the relationship between photographer and subjects points to a different conclusion. As much of recent scholarship has noted, the perceived objectivity of photographs has served to suppress any indications of a construction within or around the images.[73] What may be

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[71] Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*, 53.

[72] Inuit participants of the April 1996 conference *Imagining the Arctic: The Native Photograph in Alaska, Canada and Greenland*, at the British Museum of Mankind, called for access to such historical collections, particularly for subjects and communities photographed but denied distribution control or renumeration for their roles. Molly Lee, "Imagining the Arctic: The Native Photograph in Alaska, Canada and Greenland," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1997):44. Final speaker Simeonie Keenainak touched on the differences in viewpoint between such historical practices and his own as a hunter, former R.C.M.P. officer and contemporary Inuit photographer. (*Makivik News* 39 [Summer 1997]: 9.)

[73] Pultz's, *The Body and the Lens*, Solomon-Godeau's, Photography at the Dock and Martha Rosler's In, Around,

obscured in these portraits are issues of stereotypes, political agendas, marketability, reciprocity, and technology; each of these is closely related to the distribution of power.

The reputation of photography as an objective recording device ensured that the weight of authenticity/authority was perceived as an inherent part of the medium; because photographers could deliver a piece of lived experience with more authenticity than any other type of souvenir, written or oral account, their work had commercial potential.

Knowledge of the marketability of such photographs must have motivated a professional like Moodie. Her work from the days of her photographic studio in Saskatchewan is focused on native sitters and rituals, so her return to the subject indicates success. Clearly the public attention focused on the expedition, and the established genres of travel and ethnographic photography presented a potential audience for the work. The rise of Pictorialism in Canada around the turn of the century might have helped to bridge the gap between ethnographic and romantic subject matter. Emphasis on portraits as the

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and Afterthoughts (On Documentary Photography each discuss the idea at some length.

personification of ideals rather than on individual identity, combined with the notion of ethnic 'types', facilitated the acceptance of images from Edward S. Curtis and the Flahertys in the years after Moodie's Fullerton period.

Quite likely Munday's and Moodie's experience of Northern detachment life, although at least a decade apart, were similar; as one of the few if not the only White women living in locations marked by unfamiliar physical and cultural settings, without a community of peers, both would themselves have felt and been treated as representatives of white Southern women. Moreover, their role in the communities would have been defined largely by their affiliation with the force.

The participation of government agencies in the dissemination of Moodie's images is significant. As representations of what constituted a 'frontier' in terms of Southern Canadian institutional culture, the images of Inuit portrayed in the intimate, stable compositions that she produced might have been part of an effort to justify the presence of the Canadian government in the lives of the indigenous people.

Such an emphasis on interpersonal relationships and maternal subjects, in compositions featuring intimate,

interior spaces and tight framing reads in EuroCanadian culture as a visualization of Moodie's interest in the Inuit people of Fullerton. In her assertion that "imperialism breeds an imperialist sensibility in all phases of cultural life, " Martha Rosler has suggested that the reinscription of "dominant social relations" into visual and literary representations is inevitable when one party controls the production and dissemination of such representations.[74] The conditions under which Moodie travelled north, the implementation of Canadian law in the North, was a provocative one that effected change in the community even as she photographed its inhabitants. From the accounts of Comer and Bernier and reports of Supt. Moodie, it seems that the very arrangement under which subjects sat for the photographers was influenced by the emerging institutional framework.

Moodie's attempt to locate the *Iwilik Women* within the intimate, harmonious space of conventional portraiture while displaying an obvious focus on their ethnic membership brings the 'exotic' into a familiar relationship with the viewer. Their faces and decorative

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[74] Martha Rosler, "In, Around and Afterthoughts," in The Contest of Meaning, 321. Also quoted in Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock*, 180.

amautit are presented for examination while the more radically foreign aspects of the culture are kept out of the frame of the photograph. Viewed as one instance in a growing genre of images of indigenous people from colonised territories, the women appear as intriguing, aesthetic beings that reaffirm the breadth of the empire without presenting any evidence of difficulty or friction. Her *Inuit Widow with Children* similarly presents a worthy family group, demonstrating closeness and sympathetic emotions while invoking the spectre of trial and struggle associated with 'primitive' lifestyle of the indigenous people. The fact that the family group is bereft, possibly as a result of the Southampton epidemic, opens the way for the notion of government intervention.

The sitters in both of Moodie's images, though codified for Western eyes as familiar, intimate and family groups, are, at the same time, 'othered'. The two photographs discussed here betray Moodie's presence in the apparent influences of traditions of travel and ethnographic photography and boundaries of social convention, and so in the composition of her images. Compared to Munday's emphasis on her own identity in *A Mounty's Wife*, Moodie's practice renders her all but invisible.

Conclusions: 'Mountie's' Wives On Record

The practices of Munday and Moodie were shaped by and, in turn, shaped the discourses of gender, nation building, professionalism, and the visual paradigms in which the land and people of the North had been represented to Southern audiences.[1] While their legacies, and occasionally their own words, describe their practices in terms of the affiliation with the force, the nature of that relationship and the consumption of each body of work was intricately connected with issues rooted in the larger society. Clearly, the reasonably secure and comfortable access to the North from which these practices benefited was connected to their status as R.N.W.M.P. wives, but there were drawbacks to the lifestyle; they were largely excluded from official discourses and isolated from other career choices.[2] What is evident in looking at the practices and images of each woman is the presence of sophisticated negotiation strategies in dealing with the strictures of R.N.W.M.P. policy, the political and social

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[1] Suren Lalvani has suggested that "the invention of photography is a crucial moment in the development of a modern structure of vision and is both constitutive of and constituted by a modern ocular paradigm." (Lalvani, *Photography, Vision and the Production of the Modern Body*, 2.

[2] Helen Buss, *Mapping Ourselves*, 124.

forces and distribution networks in the south.

Consideration of genre, marketability, and audience was likely more familiar to Moodie, as a professional, than to Munday. Munday's work was accepted by a branch of the Sheldon Press in England with a mixture of praise and criticism. While her editor despaired over the lack of coherence and personal attacks included in the manuscript, he assured her that the Northern theme would sell.[3] With publication, Munday's representations took their place in popular culture, adding another voice to the body of representations of the North.

The affiliation with an institutional body is an element of context shared, not only by Moodie and Munday, but also by most white women and men in the North during the early-twentieth-century. Sometimes referred to as the institutionalization of the North, the appearance of government, commercial, research and law enforcement representatives in the region formed part of the move to integrate the North into the boundaries of Canada; such institutions actively shaped southern perceptions of the region by framing knowledge of it.

The shape of photographic practice at the turn of the

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[3] The Macmillan archives, McMaster University, W. Munday file.

century was divided between notions of its value as both a scientific tool and an artistic medium. Its status as a scientific, technological instrument was grounded in the perception of its ability to make precise, objective recordings of an external reality. Leveled at the 'mysterious North,' it was expected to bring accurate, unmediated images of that region back to Southern urban centres. The growing popularity of Pictorialism in early twentieth-century urban Canada points to the ongoing experimentations with photography as an artistic medium.[4] The majority of photographic practices at that time, and certainly those of Moodie and Munday, can be said to blend elements of documentary with aesthetic concerns. The motivation for making photographs of the Inuit people around Fullerton and Chesterfield Inlet derived, in part, from the sense of exotica and uniqueness connected with the remoteness of location. Not only was registration of detail important in the images but, as they were bound for further circulation, so were the selection of subject and composition.

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[4] Pictorialism denoted by evident negative or surface manipulations such as soft focus to portray subjects or landscapes as personifications of mythic or fictional themes appeared in the work of Ottawa and Toronto photographers as early as 1896. Koltun, *Private Realms of Light*, 32.

This emphasis on documentation is similarly evident in most expeditionary photography. Photography, as Paul Carter has pointed out, shared scientific geography's "two-dimensional world view" and was an important means of legitimizing geography's "claim to reduce the world accurately to a uniform projection."[5]

Discussing the role of photography in nineteenth-century England, and the relationship between geography and imperialism visible therein, Richard Grover notes that the images produced of faraway colonized landscapes and the "'type' photographs of colonized races ... [were] a means of revealing the realities of far-away places as well as Britain's expanding presence in them."[6] Projects like the World's Fairs and volumes of collected photographs of various nations of indigenous people produced early this century aimed to map and effectively represent "The Native Races of the Empire." At the same time photography of landscape served needs as disparate as those of surveyors and those of travellers looking for souvenirs of distant places.

Photographs taken in the North around the turn of the century were expected, for the most part, to bring the

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[5] Richard H. Grover, "Imperial Landscapes," 57.
[6] Ibid., 53

land and people of the region into the familiar structure of southern institutional knowledges. Each image was framed according to particular purposes; military and survey teams produced topographical landscapes, anthropologists and ethnologists made utilitarian portraits, police recorded buildings and regiments and later prisoners, each encoding value systems in their photographs. The photographs of A.P. Low and George Comer, or Frank Mackean and M.H.E. Hayne, their production directed by amateur interests and specific sponsors, all funded and encouraged by one official body or other, met many of these needs. Each brought into visibility the land and peoples of the distant region for the southern populace.

The popularity of photographic images like those bound into the 1901 and 1902 *Far North* albums of C.W. Mathers, Flaherty's 1911-16 Inuit portraits, postcard images and exploration narratives indicates a successful combination of the thrill of exotica and the reassurance of conviction that the national infrastructure stood strong.

References to women alongside the daring men of the force were rare. They were excluded, not only from the rather technical, annual reports (indeed, Superintendent

Moodie's official *Report on Service in Hudson Bay* does not mention his wife at all), but also from other representations including the histories and fictions produced by peripheral or retired members of the R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P. Keith Walden acknowledges the ambiguous process by which these stories were produced:

> ... the reports were amusing for what they left unsaid .... Indeed, it became problematic to explain how any detailed stories of police exploits emerged from this shell of reticence. Fortunately, it was revealed, an outsider occasionally was able to see them at work, to win their confidence, and hear their stories. Such a man was R.G. MacBeth, who informed his readers that "as I am not one of their number I do not feel bound by their rule of silence."[7]

The authors of the only history of mounted police wives confirm what archival research reveals: that "[h]istory has not been very faithful to these pioneer wives of the R.C.M.P."[8] Because it failed to include accounts of long Northern patrols or arrests of notorious criminals, women's participation was relegated to the role of 'helpmate', whose care of the domestic environment supported a husband's activity in the field. Many reminiscences in *Red Serge Wives* describe the support duties, from feeding and guarding prisoners to cleaning

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[7] Walden, *Visions of Order*, and R.G. MacBeth quoted in Walden, 37-8.

[8] *Red Serge Wives*, 17.

and raising the flag that often fell to women at single officer detachments.[9]

Either silence, as in memoirs like M.E. Hayne's retelling of hardship in the Yukon, or A.C. Bury's 1951 description of his trials on the Peace River-Yukon patrol (which fails to mention the presence of Henrietta Constantine, who accompanied her superintendent husband on this and other patrols), or mannered tributes have cloaked the legacy of the women. Books and articles from the *Scarlet and Gold* and other celebratory Force histories have briefly acknowledged the roles of women, such as the following examples:

> When ... Longstreth dedicated his well-known book ... to the "Wives of the Mounted Police," it was ... a touching tribute to those who had so materially ministered to the comforts of officers and men, at times under most trying circumstances.[10]
>
> Yet through the history of the Force, the women of the Force have quietly endured privation and suspense...The wives story has not yet been told.[11]
>
> To the splendid women of 'Mounted Police'...[whose] exile in the wilds, their endurance, their abnegation, their labor, their hardships and their

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[9] Duncan, *Red Serge Wives*, passim; Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, passim.

[10] T.A.K. Turner *Scarlet and Gold 16 (1935):42.*

[11] Longstreth, 288.

trials' is still due recognition.[12]

> Wives of ... mounted policemen, ...in Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of our vast Canadian Northland, must be made of enduring stuff in soul and body. None other will suit the men or the posts.[13]

> Books have been devoted to the valor and brains of the red-coated men [but] Little ever has been heard of their wives - of the women who have followed the bleak trails to a frontier...just to be near those men who are the only couriers of civilization in that frozen land.[14]

> This book I dedicate to those women of the force who have endured, who have watched and waited with an aching heart, as I have done, and so will understand.[15]

On the rare occasion that it is mentioned the experience of 'mountie's' wives is so often couched in well intentioned but negative terms as to comprise a sort of refrain. This characterization forms a suitably noble yet passive counterpart to the active bravery of the officers. On closer examination, however, the women themselves demonstrate a further degree of agency. A part of breaking away from the stereotypically stoic persona is accepting responsibility for the darker side of that

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[12] *Winnipeg Free Press*, 20 February, 1927, obituary of Henrietta Constantine.

[13] *Manitoba Free Press* 13 December, 1930, review of A Mounty's Wife.

[14] T.A.K. Turner, *Scarlet and Gold* 16 (1935): 1934

[15] Munday, *A Mounty's Wife*, fwd.

historical moment. As Barbara Kelcey has acknowledged,

> Feminists have been disappointed to find women did not colonize indigenous [people] in a different way from men simply because they were women, socialized to nurture, and to carry civilization into the "primitive" world. The hope was to find gentler paths to colonization because white women interacted with Native women at a more personal level.[16]

As for the crafted representations of women like Moodie and Munday, a negotiation strategy was needed to claim status as officers' wives while retaining credibility as photographers and writers. The aside offered by MacBeth in the preface to his conventional history is noteworthy for its similarity to the wording of Munday's subtitle, *One Attaced to the Force but not of it*. Although it is through the project of "Policing the North" that the women such as Munday and Moodie gained access to the region, what that affiliation often meant was an expectation by the Southern culture that they meet the criteria of both femininity and the archetypal 'mountie'.

Joanna Trollope, writing on the role of British women in the colonies, notes that "'Duty' was a word which ranked with honour, peace and justice in the imperial vocabulary and with 'propriety' in the social one."[17]

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[16] Kelcey, 231.

[17] Joanna Trollope, *Britannia's Daughters: Women of the British Empire* (London, Hutchinson & Co. 1983), 112.

Indeed, the sense of order attached to the mission of the force by all accounts extended to their wives' responsibility to exemplify moral order in remote locations.

While photography of non-Western peoples in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been described as a forum for the controlling and occasionally sexualizing vision of Westerners, such notions are clearly gender specific. Any pretense to the Orientalist escapism of which Edward Said has written would be off limits for middle-class EuroCanadian women; their exploration of the exotic and the remote as subject matter would demand a careful negotiation of the bounds of conventional femininity. Because these women were excluded similarly from scientific discourses of ethnology and anthropology, only the leisured position of traveller or "delicate" portraitist meet the restrictions comfortably.[18] The practices of Munday and Moodie, however, experienced

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[18] "Delicate" was the term used by W. Gillies Ross to describe Moodie's work (Ross, *An Arctic Whaling Diary*, 186, n.9). Laura Jones has suggested that "[p]rofessionally, portraiture was the area most open to women. It was thought that women could make their sitters especially comfortable, and that women were more sensitive to children .... Few women were landscape photographers." (Jones, *Rediscovery*, 5.)

detectable friction along existing boundaries.

The link between this expectation of minding the moral frontier and the two photographic practices discussed seemingly hinges on issues of marketing, distribution and audience expectation. The lines of professional status for photographers was blurred; neither Munday nor Moodie could be categorized as aimless hobbyists. Moodie had been a professional photographer for years and Munday, in keeping notes and photographing her experiences long before her return south, clearly had ambition to circulate her representations at least semi-publicly and likely more widely.[19] While details of the distribution and circulation of *A Mounty's Wife* are unclear, reviews in the *Manitoba Free Press* (3 December, 1930) and the *Times Literary Supplement*, London (30 October, 1930) indicate a substantial readership.[20]

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[19] Holtun, *Private Realms of Light*, 59. Barbara Kelcey (20) and Helen Buss (37-8), among others, argue that women writing diaries, especially in remote locations, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, often did so with at least semi-public circulation in mind. This was considered an alternate way of communicating with large groups of family and friends, especially in areas of limited mail service.

[20] Correspondence between Munday and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, a branch of the Sheldon Press in England, the co-publisher of *A Mounty's Wife* with the Macmillan Company of Toronto, notes that the initial British print run was 500 copies and that the

Entering Northern latitudes and pointing cameras at lands and people there, Munday and Moodie subsumed their subjects into southern knowledge structures.[21] Their affiliation with the federal police force implicated them in the mission of nation building but institutional and social dictates excluded them from official discourse. The nature and significance of that affiliation is visible in the subject matter and in the reception given to the work of each photographer.

In Munday's work there is a double movement in which she projects her own image into a romanticized ideal of Native culture and, conversely, works to mould Cree and Inuit values in the model of EuroCanadian standards. Moodie's portraits, on the other hand, envisage the Inuit population of Fullerton in images that show the Native material culture through EuroCanadian visual codes. The sitters' faces and clothing are featured within sanitized,

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photographs were retained by that press. (Letter to W.K. Lowther Clarke, S.P.C.K., London, March 20, 1930, W. Munday file, MacMillan archives, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University [box 123, file 16].)

[21] In an article for the *National Review*, Munday wrote of her fascination with the summer flowers on the barrens around Chesterfield Inlet: "Of course, I did not know the names of any of them, so I gathered specimens and seeds of all I found and sent them to one of the universities to be identified." (Luta Munday, "The Beauty of the Arctic," *National Review* 52 [Spring 1934]:241.)

conventional studio compositions.

While the imminent expansion of Southern Canadian culture into Northern regions was the assumption behind much of the local work of the R.N.W.M.P./R.C.M.P., the photographs of Mundy and Moodie mark two distinct points on a parallel trajectory.[22] Though they were not included in the same institutional structure that operated by overt directives, their work remains a significant part of the effort to produce the North visually for a Southern audience. In the scope of such complex issues as historical visualizations of Native peoples, historical photography in the North and women's practices, these two bodies of work are a small part; the power of their images, however, should never be underestimated.

[22] The overarching motivation for police presence in the North, particularly the far North, was the support of sovereignty claims while plans on a smaller scale, such as the Peace River-Yukon Patrol, were geared to the needs of settlement.

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Donny White, Assistant Curator, Medicine Hat Museum. Interview by telephone 2 September, 1997.